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ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

From the Death of King Henry VII. to the Death of Archbishop Parker

FOUR LECTURES

BY THE

REV. ALFRED PLUMMER, M.A., D.D.

FORMERLY FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD
AND MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DURHAM

Γίγνονται αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ'
ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων.
μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ μικραὶ ἰσχύουσιν,
ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται.

ARISTOTLE, *Pol.* v. iv. 1.

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INTRODUCTION.

THESE lectures are not intended for experts, and, in the first instance, they were not intended for publication. They were written for popular audiences in connexion with the Exeter Diocesan Church Reading Society; and their object was, and is, to stimulate interest in the fortunes of the Church of England at a very critical period of its history, and, if possible, to give an intelligible statement of the main factors in the crisis. And they have been printed in response to repeated requests for publication, and also in consequence of the kind reception which a recently published volume upon a later period has enjoyed.[1] But there has been no attempt to find new answers to obscure questions, or attractive solutions of unsolved problems. The aim has been to make vivid a few important features, to call attention to certain dominating facts, and to avoid bewildering the listener or reader with a large number of details. The

[1] *English Church History from the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of Charles I.* Four Lectures by the Rev. A. Plummer. T. & T. Clark. 3s. net.

omissions of even important events are very numerous; and many persons, who played no small part in those stirring times, are nowhere mentioned in these pages. It would be easy to challenge the wisdom of the selection which has been made between what is stated and what is passed over without mention; but it is hoped that the framework of the lectures is constructed of materials that are substantial, and that there is enough detail to give life and colour. As to the inferences which from time to time are drawn, the lecturer cannot hope always to command assent. The time will probably never arrive when we can all agree even about the facts of such a time of bitter controversy; and agreement about interpretation of the facts is still more difficult to reach. But it is possible to endeavour to be fair; and the attempt has been made in these lectures. They will serve a good purpose, if they help someone else to try to be fair, and to be more successful in the effort.

Original authorities have, to a considerable extent, been used; yet these lectures are mainly based upon modern works, and in some places are derived directly from them. But the writer has endeavoured to weigh things for himself, and to put forward only what, on reasonable grounds, is at least tenable. Some good will have been done, if the desire to challenge what he has written leads other persons to find more tenable views for themselves.

One point about which there is room for divergent views is that of the continuity of the

Church of England throughout the various experiments that were made upon it during the period which is treated of in these lectures. In the latter part of the fourth lecture it is strongly contended that the continuity was not broken, and that the English Church of Archbishop Parker and Elizabeth was the same Church as the English Church of Archbishop Warham and Henry VIII., and as the English Church of Archbishop Lanfranc and William I., and as the English Church of Archbishop Theodore, before there was any king of England at all.

But it is important to have a clear idea of what one means by continuity. There is continuity in the use of the Sacraments as ordained by Christ. There is continuity in Church organization. And there is continuity of doctrine.

The position of the Church of England is impregnable with regard to the first of these three: it still maintains, as generally necessary to salvation, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Many ill-instructed Romanists, supported by the Curia, contend that the Church of England has no valid Priesthood, and therefore no valid Eucharist. But the increase of learning and of critical candour among Roman Catholic scholars is rendering that position more and more precarious, and even in Rome it is admitted that the recent decision against the validity of Anglican Orders is not irreformable.

With regard to continuity of organization the position of the Church of England is equally strong.

Anyone can test this for himself by studying the history of a few parishes in his own vicinity. He will find plenty of instances in which the same incumbent held his living throughout all the changes under Henry VIII.; plenty in which the same incumbent held his living, not only under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but under Mary as well; and plenty in which the same incumbent held his living under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. For instance, Richard Arscot was Rector of Bideford from 1547 to 1571. That means that he did not resign, and was not expelled, either because of the changes made under Mary, or because of the changes made under Elizabeth. Throughout these very varying conditions, the Church of England had the same officer in this parish, and the same parish priest continued in possession of the same freehold. No doubt his method of conducting the services changed, and perhaps the tone of his sermons, if he preached any, changed; as might be the case now, if a Puritan incumbent became a Ritualist, or *vice versâ*: but he was just as much a minister of the Church of England in the one case as the other. This holds good of deans and canons, as well as of the parochial clergy; and in some cases it holds good of Bishops also. At Durham, Hugh Whitehead, the last Prior of the Benedictine Abbey, became the first Dean of the Cathedral Church; the first twelve Prebendaries were chosen from the senior monks; and Cuthbert Tunstal remained Bishop of Durham under all four

reigns (1530–1559). Like nearly all the English Bishops of that day, he resigned in 1559 rather than take the oath which recognized the Queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical causes. Another instance of the same kind was John Salcot, otherwise called Capon, who held the See of Salisbury under Henry, Edward, and Mary (1539–1557). It is quite clear that, "as a matter of law and history" (to quote Professor E. A. Freeman), "the Church of England after the Reformation is the same body as the Church of England before the Reformation" (*Disestablishment and Disendowment*, p. 35).

It is when we come to consider the question of doctrine that the claim of the Reformed Church of England to unbroken continuity with the unreformed Church of England becomes, not indeed difficult to justify, but less easy to prove. During the Reformation period momentous changes were unquestionably made in what the English Church enjoined its ministers to teach and its congregations to receive; and it becomes a question for debate, what kind of changes might be made in the formularies of a Church, without its becoming, from a theological point of view, a new religious body. It is to be noted that the changes in doctrine which were made by the English Reformers were all in one direction. They consisted in abandoning beliefs which, whether reasonable or unreasonable in themselves, had not been imposed in the first ages of the Church, being explicitly stated neither in Scripture nor in the universally accepted Creeds. These

changes did *not* consist in making additions to what Christians are required to believe, such as the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, or that of the Infallibility of the Pope. Making the conditions of membership more difficult, by the imposition of new articles of faith, is a much more serious breach with the past than surrendering articles which were not originally, or even for some centuries, imposed. When appeal is made to the evidence of antiquity, as interpreted with learning and candour, it is impossible to prove that, at the Reformation, the Church of England abandoned anything that is essential to the Christian faith. And if this is so, there was no real breach. A branch does not lose its continuity by being—even unskilfully—pruned.

On one assumption, and perhaps on only one, can it be logically maintained that the Church of England since the Reformation is a different Church from the Church of England before the Reformation; namely, the assumption that it is essential to the existence of a Church that it should accept the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome. The Roman controversialist may contend that, "though there was no outward breach of continuity, though the old ecclesiastical corporations retained their legal rights, though bishops and priests and everything went on, yet the bishops and priests were no bishops and priests, the sacraments which they administered were no sacraments, because they had parted from that centre of unity which alone can give their acts any

spiritual force." But that contention has never been proved to be true, is at variance with known facts of history, and has been rejected, not only by the Reformed Church of England and the Protestant Churches of Europe and America, but also by the Orthodox Churches of the East. Until the truth of this vast contention has been proved, the Anglican claim to continuity stands.

A rather full chronological table has been appended to the lectures, and in many instances the day of the month has been stated as well as the year. Although no one would be wise in trying to fill his memory with an immense number of exact dates, yet the student of history needs to have a large supply for reference. A question of months, or even of days, will sometimes be decisive as to supposed causes of events. For instance, the panic caused by the marriage of the Duke of York with a Romanist (Mary of Modena) cannot have been the cause of the Test Act of 1673, when the marriage took place at the end of September, and the Act was passed the previous March. Fear that he *might* marry a Romanist may have helped to pass the Act, but not the feeling that was excited by his having done so.

A few alterations were made in the lectures before they were delivered at Oxford in the Lectures to Clergy, July 1905. They have been printed as they were delivered there, with the addition of notes, and of such passages as had to be omitted in order to keep within the compass of an hour. It was a great

satisfaction to the lecturer to find that what he had written was so much in harmony with the admirable Primary Charge of the Bishop of Exeter, which was published before the Oxford Lectures began.

The following are the principal modern works which have been used in the preparation of this volume :—

BABINGTON, J. A., *The Reformation, a Religious and Historical Sketch.*

BEARD, C., *The Reformation* (Hibbert Lectures, 1883).

BURROWS, MONTAGU, *Commentaries on the History of England.*

Cambridge Modern History, vols. i. and ii.

CAZENOVE, J. G., *Some Aspects of the Reformation.*

Church History Society Publications.

Church Quarterly Review.

CREIGHTON, M., *History of the Popes.*
Cardinal Wolsey.
Queen Elizabeth.
The Age of Elizabeth.
Historical Lectures and Addresses.

Dictionary of National Biography.

Diocesan Histories, published by the S.P.C.K.

DIXON, R. W., *History of the Church of England.*

Encyclopedia Britannica.

FEARENSIDE, C. S., *History of England from 1485 to 1603.*

FREEMAN, E. A., *Disestablishment and Disendowment.*
Exeter (Historic Towns).
Growth of the English Constitution.

FRERE, W. H., *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*

FROUDE, J. A., *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.*

GAIRDNER, J., *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century.*

GARDINER, S. R., *History of England.*

GARDINER and BULLINGER, *Introduction to the Study of English History.*
GASQUET, F. A., *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries.*
GEE and HARDY, *Documents illustrative of English Church History.*
GIBSON, E. C. S., *The Thirty-nine Articles.*
GREEN, J. R., *History of the English People.*
HALLAM, H., *Constitutional History of England.*
HÄUSSER, L., *The Period of the Reformation.*
Home and Foreign Review.
HOOK, W. F., *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.*
HUTTON, W. H., *Sir Thomas More.*
LECKY, W. E. H., *History of European Morals.*
LEE, SIDNEY, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century.*
LINGARD, J., *History of England.*
MACAULAY, T., *History of England.*
Essays.
MACOWER, F., *Constitutional History of the Church of England.*
MASSINGBERD, F. C., *The English Reformation.*
MOSHEIM, J. L., *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History.*
OXENHAM, H. N., *Studies in Ecclesiatical History and Biography.*
Oxford Historical Society Publications.
Parliaments and Councils of England.
Peek Prize Essays on the Maintenance of the Church of England.
PERRY, G. G., *History of the Reformation in England.*
POLLARD, A. W., *England under Protector Somerset.*
RANKE, L., *History of England.*
SAINTSBURY, G., *A Short History of English Literature.*
SCHAFF, P., *History of the Church; the Reformation.*
SEEBOHM, F., *The Era of the Protestant Revolution.*
SMITH, GOLDWIN, *The United Kingdom, a Political History.*
SNELL, F. J., *Memorials of Old Devonshire*, edited by.
STRAUSS, D., *Ulrich von Hutten.*
STUBBS, W., *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History.*
Lectures on European History.
SWETE, H. B., *Services and Service-Books before the Reformation.*

TASWELL-LANGMEAD, T. P., *English Constitutional History.*
THOMPSON, H. L., *The Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford.*
TULLOCH, J., *Rational Theology in England in the Seventeenth Century.*
WESTCOTT, B. F., *History of the English Bible.*
WHITE, F. O., *Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops.*
WORTH, R. N., *Guide to Devonshire.*

And we ought not to forget lighter materials, such as dramas and novels, which help us to a vivid picture of those times. First and foremost, there is Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.*, if one may still call it Shakespeare's; and there is Tennyson's *Queen Mary.* There is Charles Reade's delightful story of *The Cloister and the Hearth*, to tell us of monastic and home life on the Continent in the times of the father of Erasmus. And Sir Walter Scott has left us, for Scotland in the third division of our period, *The Monastery* and *The Abbot;* and, for England in the end of the last division, *Kenilworth.* But we must not allow these great writers to mislead us with regard to chronology. In Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.*, the drama ends with the christening of the Princess Elizabeth. This took place 10th September 1533; but it is made subsequent, not only to the death of Queen Katharine, which took place 7th January 1536, but even to the plot against Archbishop Cranmer in 1543. Sir Walter Scott takes still greater liberties in *Kenilworth;* and if we were to insist on correct dates, much of the most interesting portions of the novel would have to be sacrificed. Lord Robert Dudley is

throughout called the Earl of Leicester, and Amy Robsart is called the Countess of Leicester; but he was not made Earl of Leicester till 29th September 1564, and his wife died at Cumnor 8th September 1560. She is represented as paying a momentous visit to her husband's seat at Kenilworth; but Kenilworth did not become his until more than three years after her death. And Amy's visit to Kenilworth and her famous interview with the Queen are placed during the time when the Court of Elizabeth remained for a long visit at Kenilworth; but this was in 1575, when Amy had been dead more than fourteen years. On the other hand, Lord Tennyson's *Queen Mary* is so accurate in its arrangement as to be a valuable historical guide.

The omission of the names of modern works from the above list does not mean that the writer of these lectures does not think them worthy of mention, but simply that through ignorance or want of opportunity he has not (so far as his memory serves him) made use of them. But it is possible that he is under obligations to some works which have not been mentioned.

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I.

1509–1529.

THE HISTORIC SITUATION UNDER HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY.

"This cardinal,
Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashion'd to much honour from his cradle.
He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading:
Lofty and sour to them that lov'd him not;
But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
And though he were unsatisfied in getting
(Which was a sin), yet in bestowing, madam,
He was most princely. Ever witness for him
Those twins of learning, that he rais'd in you,
Ipswich and Oxford! one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to outlive the good that did it;
The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
His overthrow heap'd happiness upon him;
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little:
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died fearing God."

Henry VIII., Act IV. Scene ii.

I.

1509–1529.

THE HISTORIC SITUATION UNDER HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY.

THE period which lies before us, 1509–1575, includes the period of the English Reformation. Throughout Europe the Reformation was partly a religious movement, in that it was a revolt from the teaching and jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, and partly a political movement, in that it inspired kings and courtiers with a desire for the property and power which had gradually been concentrated in the hands of ecclesiastics.

In no country in which this political stimulus was absent, was the religious movement really successful. In Italy and Spain, where the struggle for Reformation was chiefly a matter of religion and culture, the struggle was abortive. In France, where political support was fitful and ineffectual, the religious movement was defeated. In North Germany, as soon as the political element became strong, the religious Reformation became successful. In England, where from the first the motive power

was far more political than religious, it succeeded also.

And it is worth noting that the religious movement found an entrance most easily in those regions in which Bishops were few and secular. In some parts of Europe the dioceses were huge, and the prelates who presided over them were princes of the Church rather than pastors of the people. In such cases spiritual organization was commonly weak, and religious life consequently listless. This was specially the case in the Netherlands; but it was also true of Germany, Scandinavia, Scotland, and England.[1]

It is because of this decisive influence of the mixture of politics with religion in the history of the Reformation, that it is impossible to separate the history of the Church from that of the State in treating of the history of the Church of England during the sixty-six years from 1509 to 1575. This is true of the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during which so many experiments in Anglicanism were being made by English Governments. But it is specially true of our sixty-six years. And there is perhaps hardly any period in which it is less possible to deal intelligently with the history of either Church or State in England, without taking also into account, frequently and carefully, the ecclesiastical and civil history of at least the leading countries in Europe. The chief problems for which solutions were being sought in England were for the most part problems

[1] See Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*, p. 33.

on the Continent also; and the way in which this or that sovereign and nation felt their way towards a solution had a great deal to do with the way in which a solution was sought and perhaps at last found by other sovereigns and nations. To a limited extent you may study the reign of Henry VII. without paying more than occasional attention to continental politics: England was then enjoying, or suffering from, a period of isolation in European politics. But from the time when Henry VIII. ascended the throne this is no longer possible. It was almost from the first his aim, and the aim of his great Minister Wolsey, to restore England to its place in the councils of Europe, and, if possible, to make it still more influential in those councils. Every European statesman was to be made to recognize that the wishes of England and of the King of England could no longer be ignored. And this was done: by whatever means, admirable or otherwise, it was done. If you want an epithet for Wolsey, take 'masterly'; and if you want one for Henry, take 'masterful.' The diplomacy of the Minister, and the tenacity of purpose in the King, were magnificent. And whatever else Wolsey's diplomacy was, it was always, until the last stage of the miserable matter of the divorce, patriotic.[1]

[1] Wolsey may be said to have started a line of diplomatists, which a little later became almost a school, to which men like Sadler, Knollys, Randolph, and Walsingham belonged. They were not too scrupulous; but their plea would be, that they fought the devil with his own weapons.

He worked for England's greatness. It was precisely here that Henry failed. He did much for England, but he would have been a far greater man if he had striven more for England and less for himself.

It is easy to say that the methods of both were immoral; that Wolsey's diplomacy was deceitful, and that Henry was a brutal and grasping tyrant. But is not all diplomacy deceitful? Is it not said even now that an ambassador is one who lies abroad in the service of his country? But there are different kinds of deceit. To hoodwink, to bluff, and to outwit other statesmen is one thing. To be false to those to whom you have given pledges is quite another; and it is seldom or never that treachery of this kind can be laid at Wolsey's door.[1] And it is perhaps not an empty paradox to say that Henry thought it his

[1] "Wolsey was an able Minister to an able King, and his character for honesty of purpose and patriotism is on a par with that of more renowned statesmen. It was a period of intrigue, but the intrigues were not woven by Wolsey for his own selfish ambition, but used by him for the advancement of England, and for the averting of the two great evils, a too powerful France, which would be fatal to England's independence, and a too powerful Emperor, which would be fatal to all independence in Europe. Both the great rivals courted Henry, and he endeavoured, doubtless with statesmanlike selfishness, to hold the balance between them. . . . In 1520 we find Charles and Francis both eager to draw Henry VIII. into a close alliance. Wolsey plans the Field of the Cloth of Gold: Charles, to get the first word, visits England in person. In May 1520, Charles visited his uncle in London; in June, Henry visited Francis at Ardres; and in July he met Charles again at Gravelines. The result was to throw Henry's sympathies entirely on the Imperial side" (Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*, pp. 52, 53).

duty to be a tyrant. He had a conscience, and he liked to think that he had its approval. He played strange tricks with it, and then it played tricks with him. Such vast power as was conceded to him, and for the most part quite willingly, would have tried the morality of any man in any age; and in that age it was specially easy to become a ruffian, almost without knowing it.

It was an age of transition; and no one knew what was coming. The old order had crumbled away or was tottering to a fall; and as yet there was little in its place. *Feudalism*, with its tight grasp over the whole of society, was gone, blown to pieces by the *invention of gunpowder*.[1] The *mariner's compass* was opening out to adventure and to commerce a *new world* that could not fail to react on the old one. Above all, the *invention of printing*,[2] hand in hand with the *recovery of MSS.*, was making the buried thoughts of past generations, and the whispered thoughts of contemporaries, known to all the world. The old ideas, on which

[1] But the most valuable element in feudalism happily survived —the close connexion between the possession of property and the discharge of public duties. The English nobility have always taken a large share of these.

[2] We must beware of thinking that the invention of printing was wholly on the side of the new learning and of reform. Rather it was an instrument which was equally available for both sides. But the reforming party made far more use of it. In the period before us (1509–1575) the Reformers issued at least six times as much literature as their opponents. It is said that in forty years a single publisher sold 100,000 copies of Luther's Bible.

Christian society had been based throughout the Middle Ages, were no longer possible. No one could continue to regard Christendom as a united whole, presided over, on the spiritual side by the Pope, and on the secular side by the Emperor.[1] The Papacy had lost caste by becoming of the earth, earthy; and its fitful attempts to unite Christian nations with the old cry of a Crusade against the infidel foe fell on deaf ears. There were more dangerous infidels and more dangerous foes nearer home. The Eastern Empire was gone; the Western survived in name only. If Emperors were often powerful, it was not *because* they were Emperors that they were so. No one looked to the Emperor any more than to the Pope as likely to solve the pressing perplexities of the day. On the contrary, these high personages were regarded as among the chief causes of perplexity.

But morality, both political and private, has reference to established order. When, therefore, the old order is partly dying and partly dead, what becomes of morality? It is necessary to remember this, when we condemn, as often we must condemn, the methods of the sixteenth century as being immoral.

We may be thankful that *we* were not called upon to find our bearings in such an age. We

[1] Just before the Council of Trent met, Cardinal Pole tried to revive the belief that the Emperor was the royal Vicar of Christ, as the Pope was His spiritual Vicar; but the utterance met with no response.

may be still more thankful that we had not the responsibility of trying to mould it.

Let us glance at the forces in Church and State in England with which we have to deal. They are four: Crown, Clergy, Baronage, and Commons.

1. At this crisis the strength of the *Crown* lay in three things: the *permanence of the idea of royalty*; the *theory of the supreme power* as interpreted by custom and legal definitions; and the *wealth of the King*. This inherent strength was augmented by *four external facts*: the weakness of the baronage; the political weariness of the nation; the personal character of the Tudors; and the events which in France, Spain, and Germany were turning the limited monarchies of the Middle Ages into absolute monarchies, in the actions of which the nations themselves had less and less voice. This last point is of great importance.

The sixteenth century was the time of trial for parliamentary institutions in Europe. Assemblies, which had once been free, were either swept away or reduced to a mere form. The States-General of France just outlived the century (1614), and then never met again till the eve of the Revolution (1789). Charles V. and Philip II. overthrew the Constitutions of Castile and Aragon. And when Charles V. became Emperor, he was raised to a position which left the free institutions of Germany very little to control. In England, absolutism came in a different way. Parliament was neither abolished nor reduced to a mere form. It was

gradually perverted, and (like many of our institutions) was itself made to become an instrument of tyranny. Under Henry VIII. parliaments,[1] convocations, synods, judges and juries did not cease to exist; but they decreed what pleased the King. The old nobility had dwindled during the Wars of the Roses; the new nobles were the creatures of the Crown. Thus the Lords had little independence; and the Commons were not yet strong enough to act without the Lords. Consequently, the Crown controlled the whole. But inasmuch as the forms of parliamentary government were carefully respected even by the Tudors themselves, Parliament, though it was made to do very dirty work, could always assert itself, and did so, when Henry on one occasion tried to violate constitutional forms.[2] And in the next century, by means of the

[1] It seems to be clear that at this time the King appointed the Speaker; and thus the very person whose business it was to safeguard the liberties of the Commons became a royal instrument for controlling the House. Even Sir Thomas More, who was Speaker when Wolsey came to the House in 1523, and who had as much independence as most men in those days, went on his knees, while he pointed out to the Cardinal, that this kind of visit was not in accordance with precedent. Other Speakers, such as Hare or Rich, simply grovelled to the King.

[2] Henry "did not interfere with local machinery, circuits of judges, ecclesiastical courts. His Acts of Attainder were within the limits of the Constitution, his wife-murders were transacted in legal form, his spoliation of the monasteries was carried out with the advice and consent of Parliament. He made the clergy and Legislature of England parties to his crimes, and though it may seem a paradox, he kept alive the idea of responsibility while he destroyed their liberty of action. But as Henry VIII. grew more

forms, it recovered all, and more than all, its old power.

2. Second to the influence of the Crown was the influence of the *Church*. It also had similar elements of strength: permanence, rights protected by law and custom, and wealth. But to a large extent, so far as influence over the nation was concerned, the Church was living on her past. Her spiritual influence had been great, and on the whole well used. In the political history of the nation she had for centuries had high claims on the nation's gratitude. Her bishops had withstood tyrannical kings; her saints had been champions of the national liberties; from the ranks of her clergy came most of the trained statesmen who did the nation's work; and by taxing themselves in convocation the clergy often saved the people from oppression and the King from trouble. And the clergy still had great influence, and seemed to have as much as of old. They had a majority of votes in the House of Lords, even without those barons whom they could influence.[1] They worked into every grade of society, were strong in corporate feeling, and had a well-organized machinery for

despotic in State affairs, so in spiritual matters he transgressed the limits set by himself, and appeared as a teacher of religion, a critic of doctrine, a judge of heresy, a represser of superstition, an ordainer and corrector of service and ceremonial, and a compiler of creeds; a modern Constantine, combining, like him, the characters of Pope and King according as his lordly caprice suggested" (*Edin. Rev.*, Jan. 1905, p. 12).

[1] 48 to 29 in 1485.

general action. As landowners they were as a rule good farmers and considerate landlords. But though they still supplied the nation with officials, they no longer represented national aspirations. Their wealth, while it gave them power, provoked the cupidity of the less wealthy barons and the jealousy of the commons who were engaged in agriculture and commerce. And those who did not grudge the Church her wealth, hated to see so much of it used for secular purposes, and to support interests which were not those of England. In Henry's reign five Sees were held by Italians: Bath and Wells, Hereford, Llandaff, Worcester, and Salisbury, — the last by Cardinal Campeggio. York also was held by Thomas Bainbridge, who, although an Englishman, lived in Rome as a Cardinal at the Papal Court. He might look after English interests there, but that was no remedy for the neglect of the diocese of York. And when he was murdered at Rome in July 1514, the Archbishopric was given as a reward to Wolsey, who already held two Sees, that of Tournay in France, captured by Henry in 1513, and that of Lincoln in England, which had fallen vacant early the next year. How could true episcopal work be done under such conditions? And why should Church revenues go to Bishops who did no episcopal work? How weak the Church was, partly in spite of, and partly because of, its wealth, is shown by its utter inability to make any stand against the self-will of the Tudors, Henry VIII. and Mary and

Elizabeth were allowed to do almost what they pleased. And the marvellous thing is that those who held the chief posts were so ignorant of their weakness.[1] Even men like Warham and Fox, Ruthal, Tunstal, and Fisher, appear to have had no idea of their own helplessness. Yet some of them were not only conscientious, but capable men. Perhaps Wolsey alone had the necessary insight. He knew how much there was that needed reform, and he was most anxious that the reform should be gradual and conservative; but even at the zenith of his power, when more than any Pope or sovereign he controlled the policy, not only of England, but of Europe, he seems to have recognized that neither in Church nor in State could anything be done apart from the King. He might guide Henry; he might procrastinate in the hope that Henry would change his mind; but in the end the King's will would have to be done.[2]

[1] It was their own laxity which had deprived them of their spiritual influence. They were often unpopular, and sometimes were not even respected. Colet's severe censures of them in his *Concio ad clerum*, before the Convocation of Feb. 1512 in St. Paul's Cathedral, were not denounced as slanders, although the sermon was at once published in English. They taxed him with heresy in other utterances; but they did not venture to deny the charges of ignorance, self-indulgence, and simony, which he brought against themselves.

[2] Soon after More resigned the Chancellorship he said to Cromwell, "Master Cromwell, you are now entering into the service of a most noble, wise, and liberal prince. If you will follow my poor advice, you shall, in your counsel-giving to his Grace, ever tell him what he ought to do, but never what he is able to go." Dr. Stubbs remarks that the saying is "a key, almost prophetic in its

But we must pass on to glance at the condition of the other two forces with which we have to deal, the Baronage and the Commons.

3. It has become almost a commonplace in English Histories to say that the Wars of the Roses destroyed the *Baronage*, or that the English nobility committed suicide in that destructive contest. The statement requires qualification. Many of them, no doubt, had perished in the struggle; and those who survived were not numerous. But both the smallness of their number and their political weakness were due to other causes besides the Civil War. By frequent intermarriage among themselves, by territorial competition, by family rivalry and hereditary politics, they had diminished their numbers and weakened their influence. Still, their estates remained very large; and in those days large landowners were of necessity influential. Their lands gave them strength at the time; and just as the retention of the forms of a free Constitution enabled the Parliament under the Stuarts to recover all the independence which it lost under the Tudors, so the retention of large estates enabled the nobles to recover a great deal of their power, when the time of subservience had passed away. This gathering of immense estates into a few hands

simplicity, to the after history." The King is always finding out what he can do, and "coming to regard what he can do as the only measure of what he ought to do" (*Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, p. 246).

was no doubt an evil. It impeded agriculture, and it impeded justice; for there was little chance of getting justice against a great lord in a county in which he owned nearly everything, so that almost all officers of justice were more or less under his control. But it was not unmixed evil. It drew classes together who otherwise would have lacked a common interest. Besides his numerous retainers, the great nobleman had his official advisers, the lawyers who managed his courts, the clerks who kept his accounts, the chaplains who ministered in his chapels, all wearing the same badge and animated by the same *esprit de corps*. And, of course, his vast establishment gave the farmers and tradesmen of the neighbourhood a very real interest in his doings; so that the mere fact of his being there promoted intercourse and effectually prevented social stagnation. And this leads us readily to the fourth, and last, political factor.

4. It has been said that an Oriental's only idea of freedom is freedom from exactions. Let him enjoy his property in peace and security, and he will believe that he is free. Something of the same kind might be said of the English *Commons* under the Tudors. They asked to be let alone. The King might do what he pleased with the clergy and the great landowners, so long as the agriculture and cattle-breeding and trade of the country was not harassed by anarchy, or civil war, or excessive taxation. They did not object to an absolute monarch, if the absolute monarch protected

them from other evils, especially from such as disturb business.

But the distinction between nobles and commoners was now much less than it was. Many of the old barriers were gone or were disappearing. The destruction of feudalism and the prohibition of retainers had turned the feudal baron into a country gentleman. And not a few of the commons had become country gentlemen, and country gentlemen with very large estates. The possession of land became a link between the nobility, gentry, and yeomanry, of which the central class was the one that was on the increase. Bankruptcy sometimes caused ancestral estates to be broken up. Inability to compete with larger owners often caused yeomen to sell their small holdings. In both cases it was usually the wealthy commoner who bought the land. If he liked to take part in politics, any gentleman might become a peer; and the younger son of a peer was only a gentleman.[1] The daughter of a Duke might marry a commoner. And thus a commoner might have as good a pedigree as any member of the House of Lords, while persons in the highest positions might have no pedigree at all. In England there was no such barrier as

[1] "In the public school system the peers and the lower gentry are united in the closest ties. A constant stream of lawyers of brilliant talents, but often of humble birth, has poured into the Upper House, which is presided over by one of them; and the purely hereditary character of the body has been still further qualified by the introduction of the bishops" (Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. p. 172).

existed in other countries between patrician and plebeian; and in the House of Commons the sons of peers and of pedlars might sit side by side, with equal votes and perhaps equal influence. Hence it has been said that the English aristocracy has for centuries been the most democratic, and the English democracy the most aristocratic, in the world, a fact of the highest political significance in our history.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that under the early Tudors the commons were contented, except when they were heavily taxed. The country was growing wealthier, but the new wealth was not being widely diffused. The labouring classes got little of it. Indeed, seeing that the rearing of sheep and cattle had become much more profitable than growing of corn, chiefly owing to the wool trade with Flanders,—much arable land was turned into pasture, and landowners consequently required fewer labourers. Population began to flow from rural districts to towns, and both in town and country there was much distress. Quite independently of the disquiet caused by new ideas about religion and society, there was, under the surface, wide-felt discontent.

But we must cast a hurried glance at the Continent.

Henry VIII. was the first King of England for a hundred and thirty years whose succession was not disputed. He was from the first so secure on the throne that he could venture to lead his subjects to

conquests beyond the sea. This was the first aspect in which he appeared before Europe, and it continued for many years. *We* think of him chiefly in his second aspect, as the King who broke with Rome, who suppressed the monasteries, who married six wives, and out of the six divorced two and beheaded two others. These features suffice to make his reign unique; but they all come in the second half of his reign, and mostly in the last third. During the greater part of his reign the main feature is not the amazing conduct of the King, but the high place of the kingdom in the general affairs of Europe. When Henry in person invaded France and conquered Térouanne and Tournay, people thought that the days of Henry V. had returned. And his diplomatic victories were also highly prized. These successes were as barren as those of Henry V. In the long run England gained nothing by them. But they made the King exceedingly popular, and they made England respected in Europe. Henry VII. had kept out of European politics, and in the infamous League of Cambray (1508), England was ignored altogether. In it the Pope and the Emperor, the traditional guardians of justice in Europe, agreed to join with Spain and France in robbing Venice, the benefactor and bulwark of Europe, and dividing her possessions among themselves. A little later both the Pope (Julius II.) and Venice hoped to gain Henry VIII.'s aid. When Venice came to terms with the Pope in 1510, he then tried to get the

Emperor and Spain to violate the League of Cambray by turning against France; and here again he wanted the help of Henry VIII. Already it was felt that England once more counted for something in Europe.

The determining element in continental politics at this time is the struggle between France, Spain, and Austria (*i.e.* the House of Hapsburg) for the dominant place in Europe. Each wished to have the Pope on its side, and each wished to have England on its side. Not unfrequently Henry VIII. held the balance, and at one time even aspired to being Emperor himself. He never had a chance, even if Leo X. had heartily supported him. It was the election of Charles V. to be Emperor (June 28, 1519) which proved to Leo X. how impotent the Papacy had become. Leo's tricky diplomacy had offended everybody. He tried to be the secret ally of all. He really backed Francis I., who failed and attributed his failure to Leo's faithlessness.[1] The

[1] "On the whole, the candidateship of Francis I. is one of the most impudent pieces of effrontery that come into history. It is satisfactory to know how determinedly it was scouted, and that the Pope's prohibition of Charles' election, far from weighing in favour of Francis, called forth an indignant and impassioned repudiation from the Archbishop of Mentz. The Papal representatives thereupon (agreeably to the instructions of Leo X.) turned round, adopted Charles as their candidate, and offered a dispensation for holding the kingdom of Naples with the Empire, notwithstanding the Constitution of Clement IV." (Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*, p. 43). The election of Charles made Henry and Wolsey more wary. The sovereign who controlled both Spain and the Netherlands, and was also Emperor, was not

Germans were offended with the Pope's interfering with the election at all. Charles V. was not grateful to him for helping him after he had been elected. And Henry VIII. expressed *his* mind of Leo's treatment of him in language which the Pope must have found not a little exasperating. A little later, April 1520, appeared Ulrich v. Hutten's scathing pamphlet *Vadiscus*, a dialogue with epigrammatic triplets against the Roman Court: *e.g.* "Three things maintain the dignity of Rome: the authority of the Pope, the relics of saints, and the sale of Indulgences. Three things are brought back from Rome: a debased conscience, a ruined digestion, and empty pockets. Three things are laughed at in Rome: the example of the past, the pontificate of Peter, and the Last Judgment. Three things are feared in Rome: a General Council, reform of the Church, and the opening of the eyes of the Germans. Three things are excommunicated in Rome: indigence, the primitive Church, and preaching of the truth. Three things are despised in Rome: poverty, equity, and the fear of God."[1]

Let us beware of the uncritical method of justifying the revolt from Rome by exaggerating the power and tyranny of the Popes. John Bunyan

to be trifled with; and a little later (Feb. 1525) the defeat and capture of Francis I. at Pavia showed what Charles could do.

[1] *Vadiscus or the Roman Trinity* is a dialogue in which the triplets are put into the mouth of a Roman Consul, Vadiscus or Badiscus, who represents Crotus of Erfurt, friend of Hutten and of Luther. Luther's *Babylonian Captivity*, published October 1520, also deals in triplets. See Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*, p. 192 ff.

can teach us better, when he says that Giant Pope, "though he be yet alive, is by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he can now do little more than sit in the cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them."

This is an exaggeration on the other side; but it is nearer the truth than the belief that at this time the power of the Roman See was excessive and intolerable.

It is a little amusing to note how the royal 'sons' of the Pope treat the 'Holy Father.' In 1521 the Pope made Henry VIII. 'Defender of the Faith,' and the 'Defender of the Faith' divorces his wife in defiance of the Pope. Francis I., the 'Most Christian King,' makes an alliance with the Turks, and Charles V., the 'Catholic Monarch,' sacks Rome and imprisons the Pope.

In this re-entry of England into the politics of Europe the negotiations and changes of sides are bewildering. Of two successive Kings of France, Henry VIII. is sometimes the foe and sometimes the ally. He has wars with both. Yet he becomes the brother-in-law of Louis XII., and the brother-in-arms of Francis I. So also in his relations with both Emperors. At one time he has Maximilian as his ally,—one may say, indeed, in his pay. Then they fall apart again. Maximilian dies, and the same thing happens with

Charles V. Henry and he had been friendly; and the fact that Henry tried to wrest the Imperial Crown from him caused no enmity between them. From 1519 to 1525 they were steady friends; agreed in opposing Francis I. and in opposing Luther. It was the divorce question that turned the scale. Charles V. could hardly remain friends with the man who was trying to divorce and disgrace his own mother's sister, and to make a bastard of her daughter Mary, whom he at one time proposed to marry. The proposal, made in 1520 about the time of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, shows how strong the Emperor's wish then was to stand well with Henry; for at that time Charles himself was betrothed to Charlotte of France, and Mary was betrothed to the Dauphin. Mary was only four years old; so there was plenty of time for them to change their minds. And Charles married neither of the princesses, and Mary married neither of the princes. The miserable divorce question was a root of every kind of evil all round. It defiled the fingers of almost every one who touched it. It degraded the Papacy, it ruined Wolsey, it turned Henry from a self-willed King into a heartless tyrant, and it was a scandal to the English Church.

We have now cast a hasty glance over some of the leading features in England, especially as regards the Church, during the first twenty years of Henry VIII., and have also taken note of some of the leading threads in the tangled web of

politics on the Continent, especially as regards the declining influence of the Papacy. The remainder of this lecture must be devoted to a brief sketch of the great Englishman, who more than anyone else controlled the course of affairs both at home and abroad during more than three-quarters of this period. He was not popular in his own time, and many a slander was forged against him. For party purposes the slanders were repeated and augmented by later generations. It is only during our own time that the vindication of him has become possible. But *magna est veritas et prævalet.* The publication of countless documents, the genuineness of which is indisputable, have shown us what manner of man the great Cardinal really was. We know now what he did for England and for Europe. And we know also what he would have done for the English Church and for the whole Western Church, if he had not had selfish sovereigns and shifty Popes to deal with; above all, if he had not had so headstrong, so grasping, and so ungrateful a master.

His enemies, in their pettiness, for centuries succeeded in attributing a "greasy genealogy" to him. They called him the son of an Ipswich butcher:[1]

> "Begot by butchers, but by bishops bred,
> How high his honour holds his haughty head."

[1] Polydore Virgil, whose prejudice against Wolsey vitiates his account of the reign of Henry VIII., of course accepts the butcher, and says that Wolsey disliked to be reminded of his parentage

His father probably was a wool merchant. At Ipswich school he was so precocious, that he was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, at 11, where he took his degree at 15, and his M.A. at 17 in 1487. He afterwards became D.D., Fellow, and Bursar; and in the College books his name is spelt in six different ways. He always spells it Wulcy. He is said to have completed the beautiful tower, which is still one of the fairest objects in that fair city. But his share in the work cannot have been great, and perhaps he did not do much more than the bursarial duty of paying bills.

He remained at Oxford as Master of Magdalen School until 1500, when he was presented by the Marquis of Dorset to the living of Limington in Somerset. Next year he became chaplain to Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury; and with that his rise in public life begins. Various livings were bestowed on him: among them that of Great Torrington. After the Archbishop's death he became secretary to Sir Richard Nanfan, Deputy-lieutenant of Calais; at whose death in 1506 he entered the service of Henry VII. By this time he knew something of his own consummate ability, and there was nothing of "the pride that apes humility" about him. He used to say, that "if

and early life. Polydore's first two editions ended at 1509; the third (Basle, 1555) comes down to 1538. He rightly says that the *negotium nuptiale* was the ruin of Wolsey, but ignorantly contends that Wolsey undertook it with delight, and expected to profit by it.

he could but get one foot in the Court, he did not doubt to obtain anything he could wish for." His duties as royal chaplain were light; so he devoted his spare time to Fox, Bishop of Winchester, then Lord Privy Seal, and to Sir Thomas Lovell, Constable of the Tower. In caution and conscientiousness he could hardly have had a better trainer than Fox; while from Henry VII. he learned the policy of making things secure for peaceful development, which was always one of his chief aims when he took the lead himself. In 1508 Henry VII. sent him to the Emperor Maximilian to negotiate for the King's marriage with Margaret of Spain. The story is well known of Wolsey's being home again from Flanders before the King knew that he had started. Nothing came of the proposal; but Wolsey's first experiences of foreign diplomacy are interesting. "There is here so much inconstancy, mutability, and little regard of promises and causes, that in their appointments there is little trust or surety; for things surely determined to be done one day are changed and altered the next."[1]

[1] It is remarkable that Wolsey did not by any means always carry on his diplomacy in diplomatic language. He sometimes used very strong words. Charles V. complained to Tunstal and other English ambassadors in Spain that Wolsey had told the Emperor's ambassadors that Charles was "a liar, who observed no manner of faith or promise." Tunstal wrote to the Cardinal: "Your Grace's plainliness is not so well taken as it is worthy; wherefore it were as good to give them good words for good words, keeping secret your thoughts as they do" (Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd series, ii. pp. 12–18).

It is in this sphere of changing currents and colliding interests that Wolsey is such a genius. He was a born diplomatist; and he loved the managements of affairs, as Michelangelo loved to chisel and to paint. And the bigger the canvas that he was expected to cover, the more important the groups that he was commissioned to adjust, the better he was pleased. He asked for nothing better than to arrange half the statesmen of Europe against the other half, that he might bring out his own combination in the end. The whole compass of continental politics was the right sphere for his activity, as the whole interior of the Sistine Chapel for the brush of Michelangelo.[1] It was when Wolsey's energies were confined to the narrow framework of the divorce question, that his brain lost its creative power, and his hand lost its sureness. The Philistines came upon him, and he was found to be no stronger than other men. But all this we must pass by, and confine ourselves, as far as is possible, to what Wolsey did, and would have done, for the English Church.

The Church of England has many grounds for

[1] "By these arts he found means to govern not only the chief affairs of the kingdom, but of Europe; there being no potentate which, in his turn, did not seek to him. . . . But not of secular princes alone, but even of the pope and clergy of Rome he was no little courted; of which therefore he made especial use, while he drew them to second him on most occasions. . . . In conclusion, I cannot but count it a principal felicity, that during his favour with the king, all things succeeded better than afterwards" (Lord Herbert of Cherbury).

claiming admiration from outsiders, and loyalty and affection from her sons. But there is perhaps nothing in her history for which we ought to be more constantly and devoutly thankful than the fact that, in the last resort, her appeal has always been to *sound learning*. Her position is this. 'Let us know what Scripture says, and what Scripture means; Let us know what History records and how its testimony is to be interpreted and applied; and let us know what Science teaches and how scientific truth is related to revealed truth;—so far as these things can be discovered by sagacity, industry, and candour.' That is a noble position for any Church to take up. And that is precisely the position to which Wolsey desired to raise the English Church in his day, and through it the whole of Western Christendom. Of course he knew that in the existing state of things, with deep-seated neglect and abuses everywhere, no such work could be done in one man's lifetime. But he wished to begin it, and did begin it; and he wished to make provision for its being continued after he was gone. If there was one thing for which Wolsey cared, perhaps even more than he cared for making England and England's King the weightiest factor on the Continent, it was the improvement of education in England, and especially in the case of the English clergy. Like Erasmus, Wolsey believed ignorance to be the cause of most of the evils from which the Church was suffering. The

illiterate condition of clergy and monks and friars was in many cases deplorable; and, of course, in the laity the case was still worse. Even among the educated, the pedantries of Scholasticism were a barrier, rather than a help to intellectual progress. And while men's minds were thus in darkness or unwholesome twilight, no wonder that their morality was low.

Hence, just as Erasmus had an educational and moral aim in selecting books, whether classical or Christian, to be edited and published, so Wolsey had an educational and moral aim in the institutions which he regulated or founded. Probably Erasmus had more sympathy than Wolsey had in the Revival of Letters. In *Italy*, to a very large extent, the Revival had been allowed, or even encouraged, by the faithlessness or indifference of Churchmen, to become unchristian and immoral. Here was a new tree of knowledge; and the one thought was to gather and enjoy the fruit. It was an enthusiasm for pagan art and literature, for pagan philosophy and religion, accompanied only too often by pagan voluptuousness and cruelty. Every barbarity was tolerated, excepting barbarity of taste; every vice was welcomed, if only it became picturesque. This antichristian phase of the Italian Revival, never at any time total, eventually passed away. But in Wolsey's day it was dominant; and Wolsey was anxious to secure for England what was good in the movement, without this taint of paganism.

While Wolsey was in Oxford, *Colet*, who had studied at Florence, and *Lilly*, who had studied at Rhodes and Rome, were both teaching at Wolsey's College. Colet, still knowing little Greek, lectured on St. Paul's Epistles "like one inspired," striving to get through the crust of mediæval misapprehension to the true meaning of the Apostle. *Grocyn*, who had studied at Florence, and *Linacre*, who had studied at Venice, were also teaching in Oxford. And *Erasmus* himself, too poor to go to Italy, was studying there also. All these men sympathized strongly with the Revival of Letters; but what they chiefly cared for was the Christian side of it. It was good to learn Greek in order to study Homer and Plato; but it was still better to learn Greek in order to understand the New Testament.[1] Intercourse with such men had its effect on Wolsey. He knew what was needed for the English Church, and they could tell him what they had seen in Italy. When Wolsey was installed Cardinal in

[1] It is remarkable how national, and *comparatively* independent of foreign influences, the English Reformation was. "What can be more significant than the fact that it was to Oxford that Erasmus came to learn Greek? He is constantly going backwards and forwards between England and the Continent; he teaches at Cambridge the Greek he has learned at Oxford; he knits friendships with the best scholars and most liberal thinkers; to his pen we owe vivid descriptions of the great English shrines at the very moment when desecration was hanging over them; it is from England that he hastens to Basel to print the New Testament in Greek" (C. Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, p. 302).

November 1515, Colet, then Dean of St. Paul's, preached the sermon.

Wolsey was recognized in Oxford as a friend of education. From June 1515 onwards, all University preachers were ordered to pray for the good estate of the Archbishop of York, and after his death for his soul. And in 1518, after he had attended Queen Katharine on a visit to Oxford, the University surrendered to him all its privileges and statutes to be reframed. Perhaps he never had time to undertake this tremendous task. But he founded seven lectureships, in Theology, Civil Law, Physics, Philosophy, Mathematics, Greek, and Rhetoric; and the men he appointed to them were all persons of note, sympathizing with the new learning. In the same year he was one of the chief promoters of the foundation of the College of Physicians, which Henry VIII. established to protect the pockets and lives of the credulous from the avarice of ignorant quacks. But his chief enterprise for the promotion of sound learning was the foundation of two great Colleges, one at Ipswich, and one at Oxford, to be connected with one another, as Winchester with New College, and Eton with King's College, Cambridge. This great project was to be worked side by side with his scheme for the reformation of the monasteries.

Wolsey seems to have been one of the first to adopt as a definite principle of action the idea, which we sometimes regard as a very modern one,

that endowed institutions are to be judged and treated in accordance with their utility. They were founded to benefit society. Do they justify their existence by continuing to benefit society? If not, can they be *made* to fulfil their original purpose? If not let their endowments be used for some other purpose which *is* useful. It was on this principle that Wolsey, at great cost in fees, obtained from Rome Bulls which sanctioned the suppression of religious houses the inmates of which did not exceed six in number. In such monasteries, so small a staff *could* not discharge the duties of the foundation, and what they did accomplish was sometimes worse than useless. With the revenues of these unsatisfactory institutions[1] Wolsey proceeded to found his great School at Ipswich and his great College at Oxford. The latter was to be called 'The College of Secular Priests.' The King changed the name to 'Cardinal's College,' which name again was changed after the fall of Wolsey. We now know it, in a form far short of that which Wolsey intended, as Christ Church.[2] It may be regarded as an indication of his view of collegiate education

[1] None of them in Devon or Cornwall.

[2] Cromwell writes to Wolsey from Oxford, 2nd April 1528: "The buildings of your noble College most prosperously and magnificently doth (*sic*) arise in such wise that to every man's judgment the like thereof never seen nor imagined, having consideration to the largeness, beauty, sumptuous, curious, and most substantial building of the same" (Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd series, ii. p. 139).

that the first thing which he erected in building his college was the magnificent dining-hall. A vast number of students living within one group of buildings were to be educated, not merely by lectures and private study, but by a common life. Daily, almost hourly intercourse, of the most intimate kind, was to generate broad views in the individual and an influential public opinion in the body as a whole: all of which, duly enlightened, was to tell on the University, and through it on the Church and nation. Among all the sorrows which fell so thick on Wolsey during the last year of his life, not even the black ingratitude of the King seems to have grieved him so much as the dissolution of his College at Ipswich, and the paring down of his grand scheme for the College at Oxford.[1]

When Wolsey began his plan of a gradual reformation of the English Church in 1518, he received a letter of warm sympathy from his old friend and trainer in politics, Bishop Fox of Winchester. In 1515, Fox himself was founding a college in Oxford; and his idea was to connect this college with the monastery of St. Swithin at

[1] "The revenues also of his two colleges were torn and divided, which griev'd him more than any other affliction: insomuch, that he wrote to the King, humbly, as on his knees, with weeping eyes, that the college of Oxford might stand, and importuned Cromwel to this purpose, since they are in a manner, saith he, *opera manuum tuarum.* But Cromwel return'd no comfort herein" (Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*).

Winchester. Oldham, who had followed Fox as Bishop of *Exeter*, dissuaded him from this: "What, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of *bussing*[1] monks, whose end and fall we may ourselves live to see? No, no; it is more meet a great deal to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as by their learning shall do good in the Church and Commonwealth." Fox followed the Bishop of Exeter's advice, and Corpus Christi College was founded on modern lines, unhampered by monastic trammels.

Besides his scheme, partly carried out, of providing for the higher education of the clergy, Wolsey had two other projects for the reformation of the Church.

(1) To use his authority as Legate to hold a general visitation of the clergy, both in monasteries and elsewhere, with a view to enforcing the fulfilment of duties. This also he began to carry into effect, thereby exciting much opposition.

(2) To increase the efficiency of the Bishops by increasing their number. He proposed to found new Sees in the large towns; and to a very limited extent this was afterwards carried out by Henry VIII.

Wolsey's plan of using the revenues of moribund religious houses for purposes of education was not entirely new. Henry VI. had got money in this

[1] It is uncertain whether this epithet signifies *kissing* or *buzzing*; *i.e.* whether it refers to their supposed amatory propensities, or to their swarming like flies over the land.

way for endowing Eton and King's College. In Wolsey's own day, Bishop Alcock of Ely (1497) got permission to dissolve the useless nunnery of St. Rhadegund at Cambridge and take its site for building Jesus College. But these were exceptional proceedings. Wolsey adopted the idea as a general working principle; and Fuller is probably right in saying that it caused much consternation in all religious foundations. If the Cardinal cut away the underwood, might not the King cut down the oaks? Which was exactly what took place.[1] Wolsey would probably have spared many of the better monasteries, and would have made them more useful than even the best of them were at that time. But even if he had lived much longer, he could not have prevented Henry from using for his own purposes revenues which ought to have been devoted to the interests of the nation. Wolsey had shown how money could be got by suppressing monasteries; and that was a lesson which the King quickly learnt, all the more, because Wolsey's agent, who knew exactly how to manage all the details, was ready at hand to help him. Wolsey

[1] "Curiously enough, in Germany as in England, the example was set by the party which afterwards was to lose so largely by it. It was Wolsey's dissolution of the minor monasteries to support his new foundation, which is now Christ Church, that set the inviting bait before the hungry courtiers and the greedy King; and so in Germany it was the purchase and secularisation of the bishopric of Utrecht by Charles v. which opened the eyes of the electors and other princes to the prospect of being able to round off and increase their own possessions by similar dealings" (Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*, p. 64).

had taken into account the present condition of each monastery, whether good or bad, and the pressing needs of the Church and the nation. All that was nothing to Henry. He wanted money, and meant to have it.

Wolsey desired no great change in doctrine nor any breach with Rome, although he saw plainly enough that Roman exactions might bring the connexion to a breaking point. And as regards doctrine, he was disposed to be tolerant of individual opinion. No encouragement must be given to those who dissented from the traditional faith: on his deathbed he charged Henry to be on his guard against a Lutheran outbreak; but he doubted the wisdom of denouncing error, and he was plainly opposed to the persecution of individuals. He seems to have thought that Henry's *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*,[1] which won for him the title of 'Defender of the Faith,' was a mistake: and a couple of instances will show how he himself dealt with persons who were accused to him of doctrinal error. Taverner, organist of St. Frideswide's, Oxford, was brought before the Legatine Court, on a charge of heresy. "Oh!"

[1] Published in 1521. Luther wrote to Lange, 26th June 1522: "*Jactant libellum regis Angliæ; sed leum illum suspicor sub pelle tectum.*" *Leus* alludes to Lee, one of Henry's chaplains, and, of course, is also a pun on *Leo*. No doubt Henry had help in writing the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*; but he was well read in divinity: *legebat studiose libros divi Thomæ Aquinatis* (Polyd. Virg., *Henry VIII.*). Burnet calls it "the most learned work that ever the sun saw."

said the Cardinal, "he is only a musician!" and he let him go free. On Christmas Eve, 1525, Dr. Barnes, the young Prior of the Augustinian Friars at Cambridge, preached at St. Edmund's against the observance of Christmas; and he also denounced the Cardinal's pomp, with his silver axes, pillars, etc. The Vice-Chancellor charged him with heresy, and he was brought before Wolsey, who dealt with him very kindly. He asked Dr. Barnes whether he thought it would be better to coin the axes and pillars into money for the poor. "Yes," said Barnes. Wolsey then asked him whether he really thought that it was better to enrich five or six beggars than to keep up the dignity of the Commonwealth. "Do you not reckon the Commonwealth better than five or six beggars?" In the end Barnes was induced to abjure his erroneous opinions. He lived to give plenty of trouble afterwards, and in 1540, two days after the execution of Cromwell, he was burned at Smithfield with Jerome and Garret. There was then no Wolsey to deal gently with such men.

The more one knows of Wolsey, the more one is inclined to lament that the Reformation was not carried out under his guidance, and on the lines that he very clearly traced. There would have been, as regards property, much less waste and destruction; as regards men's persons, far less suffering and bloodshed.

We must hasten on to Wolsey's fatal connexion with the divorce question, and confine ourselves,

so far as is possible, to his side of the matter. The King's side of it belongs rather to the subject of the next lecture. It can now be demonstrated that what used formerly to be a common view among historians, that Wolsey wished for the divorce, and inspired the King with a wish for it, is absolutely untrue. The documentary evidence now at our disposal is quite conclusive on that point. But it ought all along to have seemed very improbable that a man of Wolsey's sagacity, and with his unequalled knowledge of English and European politics, should have been in favour of such a project.[1] The proposal was decidedly unpopular in England. That the Pope should be asked to decide whether their King and Queen had been living in sin during their reign was not pleasing to the nation. The proposal could not fail to be offensive to Francis I., to whose son Katherine's daughter Mary was promised in marriage. To call in question the legality of Katharine's union with the King was to question the legitimacy of Mary. Of course it was offensive to the Emperor, for Katharine was his aunt. And it was most unwelcome to the Pope. He would

[1] Lord Herbert of Cherbury knows better than to make this egregious mistake. "Though (whatever Polydore saith) it will appear hereafter, that Woolsey endeavour'd not, finally, the divorce." "They were charged from the cardinal, privately, to protest in his name, that he was no author of this counsel." "To be the single author of a counsel, which might turn so much to his prejudice, when the king should die, is more than may easily be believed of so cautious a person as Woolsey."

not care to call in question a dispensation granted by Julius II., and the request to annul it placed him in a grave difficulty. If he consented, he offended the Emperor, who had him in his power; and if he refused, he offended Henry VIII., who might then take the side of Luther. Moreover, for his own sake Wolsey would never have suggested such an idea to the King. The matter was certain to be placed in Wolsey's hands. Then, if he succeeded in getting the divorce, he not only exasperated the leading sovereigns of Europe, but immensely strengthened the party that was hostile to him in England. While, if he failed to obtain it, the King's wrath would know no bounds. It is morally incredible that Wolsey was such a fool.

When he found that the King was not to be moved from his purpose, he was distressed; and when he knew that Henry wanted to marry, not a French princess, but Anne Boleyn, he was horror-stricken. It would have been best for his fame, and for his peace of mind, if he had respectfully refused to aid in such a matter. That would have meant political ruin; but it would have been honourable ruin. Yet, in fairness to Wolsey, let us think what political ruin meant for him. Was he not indispensable? If he was driven from power, what European complications, involving fearful bloodshed, might not ensue? And what would take the place of his conservative methods of reforming the English Church if he was not there to secure them? In this way Wolsey may have

persuaded himself that he must take part in an iniquitous measure, rather than be reduced to impotency.

Having in *some* way cajoled or silenced his conscience, he took what was the only reasonable ground about the demand for a divorce. The original dispensation was defective: it was null and void; and therefore Henry and Katharine had never been legally married. This he endeavoured to induce Campeggio and the Pope to decide. He entirely failed; and the fury and greed of Henry, urged on by the spite of Anne and of Wolsey's political enemies, overwhelmed him. Early in September 1529 the cause was revoked to Rome. Sept. 19, Wolsey saw Henry for the last time. Oct. 17, he was deprived of the Seal. Oct. 22, he pleaded guilty to *præmunire*. In all history there are few downfalls more complete or more pitiful.

What the English Church lost in Wolsey was a courageous, open-minded, but thoroughly conservative reformer. The conservative reformer is seldom popular, and Wolsey was not one of the exceptions.[1] Perhaps no statesman so unquestionably great has ever been so little regretted. Of the persons among whom he habitually moved hardly anybody loved him, and very many detested him.

[1] "If it be true (as Polydore observes) that no man ever did rise with fewer virtues, it is as true, that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him" (Lord Herbert of Cherbury).

To the majority of the clergy he was a pestilent reformer; to the Lutherans he was a besotted Papist. To the nobility he was an upstart plebeian; to the populace he was a haughty aristocrat. Perhaps we may say that, like Pericles, he was too preoccupied, too self-contained, too conscious of the superiority of his own powers and aims, to make many friends. But he was admired by some, envied by very many, beloved by a very few.

This is how an impartial admirer speaks of him. The Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, writes in 1519, when Wolsey was in his glory:

"He is about forty-six years old, very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability, and indefatigable. He *alone* transacts the same business as that which occupies *all* the magistracies, offices, and councils of Venice. And all State affairs likewise are managed by him, let their nature be what it may. He is pensive, and has the reputation of being *extremely just.* He favours the people exceedingly, and *especially the poor*, hearing their suits and seeking to despatch them instantly. He also makes the lawyers plead gratis for all paupers. He is in very high repute,—*seven times more so than if he were Pope.* He is the person who rules both the King and the entire Kingdom. On the ambassador's first arrival in England he used to say, *His Majesty* will do so and so. Subsequently he went on forgetting himself and commenced saying, '*We* shall do so and so.' At this present

he has reached such a pitch that he says, '*I* shall do so and so.'"[1]

Two other pictures of him after his fall give us some insight into episcopal work in England at that time. Wolsey, deprived of the Chancellorship, was sent from the centre of affairs to attend to the diocese of York. Six years after his death, an anonymous pamphlet issued from the King's press, entitled *A Remedy for Sedition.* The writer thus speaks of Wolsey: "Who was *less* beloved in the North than my Lord Cardinal (God have his soul) *before* he was amongst them? Who *better* beloved *after* he had been there awhile? We hate ofttimes those whom we have good cause to love. It is a wonder to see how they were turned; how of utter enemies they became his dear friends. He gave bishops a right good example, how they might win men's hearts. There were few holy days but he would ride five or six miles from his house, now to this parish church, now to that, and there cause one or other of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people.[2] He sat amongst them, and said Mass before all the parish. He saw why churches were made. He began to restore them to their right and proper use. He brought his dinner with him and bade divers of the parish to it. He inquired

[1] The story in Hall and Shakespeare about *Ego et rex meus* is a perversion. In the articles against him Wolsey is accused of saying "the King and I," as if they were equals.

[2] It was reported in 1534 that in the whole Archdiocese of York there were only ten parish priests able to preach. Preaching was done by monks and friars.

whether there was any debate or grudge between any of them: if there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the church and made them one."

The other picture is given us by his faithful friend and secretary, Cavendish. Wolsey was on his way to Cawood Castle, his last halting-place before York, which he was destined never to reach. On his way to the Castle he stayed at St. Oswald's Abbey; and here Cavendish tells us that Wolsey "confirmed children in the church from eight of the clock in the morning until twelve of the clock at noon. And making a short dinner, resorted again to the church at one of the clock, and there began again to confirm more children until four of the clock, where he was at last constrained for weariness to sit down in a chair, the number of the children was such. That done, he said his even-song, and then went to supper, and rested himself there all that night." Next morning he confirmed "almost a hundred children more." He then set out, and at Ferrybridge finding nearly two hundred children waiting for him by a stone cross on the green, he got off his mule and confirmed them.

At Cawood Castle the Earl of Northumberland overtook him and arrested him for high treason. As he was being carried off thousands of the people crowded round the gates, crying, "God save your Grace! God save your Grace! The foul Evil take all them that hath thus taken you from us! We pray God that a very vengeance may light upon them." That was on Sunday, November 6. On

Saturday he reached Leicester Abbey. There on the 29th he died,[1] and on St. Andrew's Day was buried. But Leicester Abbey was destroyed by Henry; and to this day no one knows where Wolsey is laid.

[1] The words which on his deathbed he spoke to Sir W. Kingston, Constable of the Tower, give a vivid impression of the relations between Wolsey and Henry. Shakespeare has immortalized some of them. "Well, well, Master Kingston, I see the matter against me how it is framed! but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit, this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service; only to satisfy his vain pleasure, not regarding my godly duty. . . . He is sure a prince of a royal courage and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. For, I assure you, I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom."

II.

1529–1547.

THE SEPARATION FROM ROME AND THE REFORMATION.

"Grant that by this unsparing hurricane
Green leaves with yellow mixed are torn away,
And goodly fruitage with the mother spray;
'Twere madness—wished we, therefore, to detain,
With hands stretched forth in mollified disdain,
The 'trumpery' that ascends in bare display—
Bulls, pardons, relics, cowls black, white, and grey—
Upwhirled, and flying o'er the ethereal plain
Fast bound for Limbo Lake. And yet no choice
But habit rules the unreflecting herd,
And airy bonds are hardest to disown;
Hence with the Spiritual Sovereignty transferred
Unto itself, the Crown assumes a voice
Of reckless mastery, hitherto unknown."

WORDSWORTH, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, xviii.

II.

1529–1547.

THE SEPARATION FROM ROME AND THE REFORMATION.

When Wolsey fell, "never to rise again," in October 1529, all prospect of a gradual Reformation upon conservative lines was at an end. There were men in high position in the Church who would greatly have preferred such a Reformation; such as Warham, the Primate, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and to some extent Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor.[1] But none had the political power, and some had not the force of character, for such work. Moreover, they were by no means agreed among themselves as to what

[1] "The Church refused to remodel her beliefs on the liberal lines that the new spirit laid down. Ultimately she declared open war on the enlightened thought of the Renaissance. Some essayed the subtle task of paying simultaneous allegiance to the two opposing forces. Erasmus's unique fertility of mental resource enabled him to come near success in the exploit. But most found the attempt beyond their strength, and, like Sir Thomas More, the greatest of those who tried to reconcile the irreconcilable, sacrificed genius and life in the hopeless cause" (Sidney Lee, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 12).

should be done. The one strong head, with a clear idea of what was needed, with the ability to carry it into effect, and (so long as he had the King to support him) with the political power to carry it into effect, was gone; and the work was to be carried out by other hands and in a far more violent way. The work had to be done; and would have been done, had there been no Anne Boleyn, no divorce case, no Henry VIII. In the Providence of God, all these three factors, with many others, some lovely and some loathsome, came into the great work as joint-causes or occasions; and perhaps it is not very profitable to spend time in speculating as to what might have been, if the unlovely factors had been absent.

It must be confessed that the Reformation in England was carried out in the main by an unprincipled, avaricious, and tyrannical sovereign, by a servile clergy, and by an unprincipled and avaricious laity.[1] But good came out of evil

[1] This strange feature of a good cause being worked out by evil instruments is not peculiar to the English Reformation. It is true of the Reformation movement as a whole. It is true of the propagation of Christianity itself. Political intrigues and the ambitious schemes of sovereigns and statesmen had much to do with the triumph of the Gospel in the Roman Empire and its introduction among barbarian tribes. And equally selfish and sordid motives were mixed up with the struggle to get back to the purity of the Gospel in the sixteenth century. What ought to have been simply a matter of argument, quickly became a matter of intrigue, and (on the Continent) a matter of prolonged and bloody wars.

even in the case of these unpromising instruments. Revolutions are not made with rose-water; and it needed the strong will of a ruler who would not stick at trifles to brush away, or break through, the tyranny of evil traditions and long-standing abuses. Had the clergy been able and willing to stand out against the drastic measures which were brought to bear upon them, a complete alienation of the nation, not merely from Rome, but from religion altogether, might have been the result. The atheistic orgies of the French Revolution might have been rehearsed two hundred and fifty years earlier in England. And if large numbers of the impecunious and covetous nobility and gentry had not had a strong interest in maintaining the changes which had brought money into their pockets, the work might possibly have been perpetually in a state of ebb and flow, so that the country would have felt that it never knew how it stood in matters of religious practice. But although evil was thus overruled to produce good results, yet there the evil was. Good was done in a ruthless way which might have been effected with far less suffering. Valuable property, which was being misused, was destroyed or put to uses which were not much better. Institutions which needed nothing but reform or adjustment to new conditions, were swept away for ever; and the peace and purity that were established were too often the peace and purity of the desert.

In the first twenty years of Henry VIII. there

had been only four Parliaments, the last being held in 1523. It may be called Wolsey's Parliament; and it is notable for two things. In it the *three Thomases*, who make so much of the history of this period, come into contact—Thomas Wolsey, Thomas More, and Thomas Cromwell. Secondly, under Wolsey's guidance it passed an Act which was the first attempt at scientific taxation in England, and a marvellously fair and comprehensive attempt. In less than three weeks after Wolsey's disgrace Parliament met again,—the most memorable Parliament in English History. So far as one can put a date to such a movement, with this Parliament the Reformation in England begins, November 1529.

In considering this movement, we must distinguish two things: (1) *the emancipation of the Church of England from the control of Rome*, and (2) *the reform of ritual and doctrine.* The emancipation from Rome was worked out by stages, easy to be traced, between 1529 and 1534 (or perhaps 1538). The reform of ritual and doctrine is a much more complex process, and extends over forty years. It does not move in a straight line, but sways backwards and forwards; yet, when we compare the end with the beginning, we find a state of things in the second half of the reign of Elizabeth which is amazingly unlike the state of things in the first half of the reign of Elizabeth's father.

But in neither of its aspects, emancipation from Rome and reform of ritual and doctrine, was the

English Reformation a sudden thing. No one year can be named, as in the case of some foreign countries, in which the Reformation took place. Just as our political development has been very unlike the violent ruptures of French Revolutions, so our ecclesiastical development has been very unlike the violent religious changes in some of the Swiss cantons. Nevertheless, if one is asked to state what event more than any other marks the beginning of the work which changed the England of 1509 into the England of 1603, probably the best answer to give is the meeting of the Parliament of 1529.

In April 1528, Stephen Gardiner had warned Clement VII. that, if the King did not have justice done him, he would do himself justice in his own kingdom; and it was probably in consequence of this threat that the Pope was induced to send Campeggio to try the divorce case, with Wolsey as his colleague. Campeggio reached London October 8; and before the end of the month he wrote to the Pope: "I believe, if an angel were to come down from heaven, he could not alter the King's mind." That did not simply mean that if he could not marry Anne Boleyn with the Pope's leave, he would marry her without it. If Henry had simply taken that line, his marriage with Anne need have caused no rupture with Rome. Clement would have censured his lawlessness in some sort of way, and there the matter might have ended. But, for the sake of the

succession to the Crown, Henry was determined to have ecclesiastical sanction for his marriage with Anne. There must be no question of the legitimacy of the heir that Anne was to bear him. And it is probable that, for the sake of what he was pleased to call his conscience, Henry was determined not merely to marry Anne, but to have the Church's leave to marry her;—the leave of the Primate of the Western Church, if it could be had; if not, the leave of the Primate of the Church of England. He wished, not merely to do what seemed right in his own eyes; he wished to *stand* right in his own eyes, *i.e.* to be able to persuade himself that he was acting conscientiously.

It is cheap and shallow criticism to say that Henry's scruples were non-existent, and were a mere pretence to cover his passion for Anne. There seems to be no evidence against the supposition that Henry began with genuine conscientious misgivings. He was profoundly impressed when it was pointed out that such a marriage as his was forbidden (as many believed) by the Mosaic Law, and threatened with childlessness.. True, he had Pope Julius II.'s dispensation; but it was a moot point whether the Pope could dispense from a law of Scripture. In his first interview with Campeggio, Henry said that nothing could induce him to believe that the Pope possessed this power. The 'Defender of the Faith' prided himself on being a theologian, and was not likely to go back from that. Then there was the fact that,

although he had been married eighteen years, there was still no male heir to the throne, and no possibility of one, unless he had another wife. At his death there might be a disputed succession, and the country be plunged in all the misery of another civil war. As King of England he had promised to secure another wife for the good of the nation; and he could not go back from that. While these thoughts were in his mind, Anne Boleyn, lately returned from the most licentious court in Europe, came on the scene, and after she had captivated him, his passion for her dominated everything else. What was said of a great statesman in our own day, might then be said of Henry: "his conscience ceased to be his guide, and became his accomplice."

But Henry's policy of "doing himself justice in his own kingdom" was no new thing. In following it, he was merely, with characteristic energy, pushing to the uttermost principles which had been more or less clearly recognized for centuries. What Henry did was to give a constitutional basis to that plenary authority and independence which William the Conqueror possessed, and which various of his successors, from Henry II. onwards, had sought to maintain or win back. The *Constitutions of Clarendon*, the projects of King John, the *Statute of Provisors* under Edward III. in 1350, which forbade ecclesiastical appointments from Rome, and the *Statute of Præmunire* under Richard II. in 1392, which forbade the purchase of papal Bulls, and declared the English Crown to be independent of the *temporal*

sovereignty of the Pope, are all steps in the same process of emancipating England from Rome, and of reserving the highest ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England to the English Crown. Some kings had found it convenient to allow the authority of the Pope within certain limits, which were not always clearly laid down. Other kings had disputed this authority here and there. Henry VIII. swept it away altogether, and reasserted the old independence in its original fulness and with more than its original clearness.[1]

Circumstances on the Continent were favourable to such a project.

(1) The northern kingdoms and some of the German principalities were forming for themselves Constitutions which excluded the jurisdiction of Rome; and therefore Henry might count upon the sympathy and support of other governments. (2) Charles V. and Francis I. were suspicious of one another, and were not very likely to combine against him; therefore he had no serious hostility to fear. He could play off the one potentate against the other.

But the favourable conditions on the Continent

[1] "We shall altogether miss the peculiarity of the English Reformation if we regard the Royal supremacy as an arbitrary invention of Henry's, suggested to him, perhaps forced upon him, by the difficulties of the Divorce. From the Norman Conquest downward, the Pope had never taken tax and toll in England without more or less protest, and except under conditions. . . . The formal assumption of supremacy by Henry VIII. was but the last stage of a process which had been going on for almost five hundred years" (C. Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, pp. 307, 308).

would hardly have sufficed to make Henry's project of emancipation from Rome a success, if circumstances in England had not been very favourable also. They were so favourable that the breach with Rome would have come about, even if Henry VIII. for his own purposes had not desired it. The breach would probably have come a little later, and would have come in a different way; but it would have come. It was not the temporary quarrel of a particular king with a particular Pope that was the cause of the Separation; that was only the occasion of it. It was the long-standing quarrel of the English nation with the whole institution of the Papacy that was the cause of the rupture.[1] No one in England respected the Papacy. For centuries it had not been liked; and recent experiences had proved that it could not be trusted. Once it had been a real benefactor to England; but now it had become *oppressive and obstructive.* It took English money, and it helped needy kings to take it. And the money which the Popes took from England was not only used for un-English purposes, such as the enrichment of their own children and favourites; it was sometimes used to bribe foreign statesmen to work against England, and to pay foreign troops to fight against England. Moreover, though Popes were sometimes willing to admit the existence of grave abuses,—indeed, they were too glaring to be

[1] See Cranmer's letter to Henry VIII., 26th August 1538, respecting the King's Supremacy and the usurpations of the See of Rome (Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd series, iii. p. 23).

denied,—yet they nearly all of them lacked the will, and quite all of them lacked the power, to remove them. The case of Adrian VI. is proof of that. Erasmus wrote to him on the subject, and recommended reform and conciliation. Adrian agreed about reform, but doubted about conciliation: repression (he thought) was what was wanted. However, he began with reform, and took up the conspicuous abuse of indulgences. But the officials who profited by indulgences were too strong for him. He then tried to deal with dispensations, especially in respect of marriage. Again the officials were too strong for him. Then he fell back on repression. Unable to cleanse the inside of his house, he must stop stones being thrown from the outside. Luther and his followers must not be conciliated; they must be put down without mercy.[1] And the revolt of Germany was the result. Had the hands of the Popes been clean, the English nation would not have followed Henry's lead so readily. They followed it with so

[1] "Adrian sends to the princes of Germany, requiring them passionately to suppress Luther, according to the decree of Wormes; confessing nevertheless many abuses in ecclesiastical government, insomuch that he doubted not to give Cheregat, his nuncio, instructions to say, in these later years many abominable things had crept into the Church, which he therefore promised by degrees to redress. But the message pleased neither side; the cardinals at Rome disliking Adrian's; and the princes there as little improving the slow and indirect courses taken for reforming the many enormities then us'd in the Roman Church, as may appear by their *Centum Gravamina*" (Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who then gives the Hundred Grievances, *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*).

much sympathy, that even his brutal methods did not greatly shock more than a powerless minority. Some of them positively rejoiced in his brutality.

And we cannot wonder. Many years ago, Dr. Döllinger was talking to me about the scandalous lives of some Roman clergy, especially in rural districts in Germany, and I asked whether it did not make such pastors very unpopular with their own flocks. He said, "No; on the whole the people were very tolerant. A priest might live a sensual life, and yet be very well liked, if not very greatly respected; always provided that he was not grasping. That is *the* unpardonable sin. The priest who is avaricious is hated." And perhaps it is no injustice to the English clergy in the sixteenth century to say that it was a rare thing for priests not to be grasping. They took fees for all occasional duty, and sometimes enforced the fees with great brutality. They would hold as many benefices as they could get, and perhaps reside in none of them. Priests sometimes held ten to fifteen livings. In the register of Archbishop Winchelsey (1293–1313) there is a case of a priest holding twenty-three livings. We have seen that Wolsey held three Sees all at once, Tournay, Lincoln, and York. He exchanged Lincoln for Durham, and during the six years that he held Durham he never set foot in the diocese. At the time of his downfall he had never been installed at York. Fox, quite one of the best of the prelates of that age, was Bishop of Exeter, 1487–1491; but

he never once saw Exeter Cathedral. He was Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1491–1494; and that diocese he never entered. If such things as holding a diocese and never seeing it were possible even with good men, what must the worst clergy have been? The whole system was rotten; and the instruments of earlier reformations now shared in the rottenness. There had been reforms through a revival of the monastic spirit. There had been reforms through the enthusiasm of the Mendicant Orders. But these reforming agencies had done much worse than merely pass away. They had stayed on as salt that had lost its savour: and one knows what happens to that. "Men cast it out."

"Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds."

In the sixteenth century *no Parliament was freely elected.* The election of M.P.s then was like the election of Bishops now. Along with leave to elect were sent the names of those whom the King wished to have elected; and no one ventured to oppose the King's nominees. On one occasion leave to elect arrived without any representatives being named, and the constituency chose its own representatives. Then came the names of the royal nominees. The first election, which according to law was absolutely valid, was cancelled; and at another election the King's men were returned. The Parliament of 1529 was packed with special care, for the King had special reasons for wishing to have a House of Commons

that would do his will. This fact must be remembered, or we shall draw the fallacious inference that what the Commons voted was in all cases what the majority of the people approved. All that is *proved* is that there were plenty of well-to-do Englishmen of the King's way of thinking, and that as a rule the nation did not care to rebel against what was decreed. The real wishes of the majority of Englishmen at that time must be tested in other ways. The Parliament then elected continued to sit session after session till the 4th April 1536; nearly seven years, which in those days was very unusual. It was not dissolved until the Separation from Rome was complete.

The main steps in the process of separation are these:

1. In 1529 *holders of benefices were compelled to reside, and pluralities* (with certain exceptions) *were forbidden.* These two enactments are remarkable (1) as the first blow struck at the Roman Jurisdiction, (2) as the first attempt in this age to deal with Church property by Act of Parliament.

2. In 1529 *the iniquitous bill against Wolsey* was passed for having transgressed the *Statute of Præmunire.*

3. In 1531, on the ground of Wolsey's conviction, it was argued that *all the clergy,* in admitting his jurisdiction, *were liable to the same penalty.* The Southern Convocation offered an enormous sum, in return for a full pardon. To their dismay it was refused, unless they acknow-

ledged the King to be "the only Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England." They suggested alternatives, but Henry would allow none of them, except the insertion of "under God" after "Supreme Head." Then Archbishop Warham proposed in Convocation: "We acknowledge His Majesty to be the singular Protector, only and Supreme Lord, and, *so far as the law of Christ allows*,[1] Supreme Head of the English Church and Clergy." No one said a word to this. "Whoever is silent seems to consent," said the Primate. Some sagacious member, with Irish humour, exclaimed, "Then we are all silent."[2] This wording Henry for the time accepted, and so conceded the whole point. Any Roman claim could be saved by the qualifying clause, which, however, was afterwards dropped. Both Convocations accepted the amendment, the Northern one paying £18,840, 0s. 10d. for its pardon. Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, alone had the courage to protest against calling the King 'Supreme Head of the Church.' If it meant 'Supreme Head in temporals,' why not say so? If it meant

[1] The expression "Supreme Head" was conveniently elastic. The clergy could accept it as perhaps not meaning very much, and Henry could afterwards show that it meant a very great deal: but, from the point of view of Convocation, the all-important phrase was *quantum per Christi legem licet.* James Brooks, Marian Bishop of Gloucester after Hooper, accused Cranmer at his trial of having given the Supremacy to Henry. Cranmer replied that Warham had done that (Strype, *Cranmer*, i. p. 30).

[2] *Qui tacet consentire videtur. Itaque tacemus omnes.*

'Supreme Head in spirituals,' it was contrary to sound doctrine.[1]

4. In 1532 the payment of *annates*, or first-fruits and tenths of benefices, to Rome was forbidden; with this proviso, that the King might, at his discretion, enforce, modify, suspend, or annul this prohibition.[2] Here also, as in allowing the qualification, 'so far as the law of Christ allows,' Henry left a door open for reconciliation with Rome. In July 1533, after he had married Anne, without getting the Pope to pronounce his first marriage invalid, he made the prohibition absolute.

It is a mistake to suppose that the clergy cared much about transferring the payment of first-fruits from Rome to the Crown, or that the Commons cared for it either.

Henry had to put pressure on the Commons to get the Act passed. He wanted the Act in order to be able to say to the Pope, 'I can restore the annates to you, if you grant the divorce.' Annates eventually came back to the Church as Queen Anne's Bounty in 1703.

[1] Throughout this troubled period the policy of Tunstal was one of persistent moderation. He opposed various changes, and yet accepted them when they had been decreed by Parliament; and in this he was of great service to Henry. On the Continent no English Bishop was better known or respected. Under Edward VI. he opposed the Act of Uniformity in Parliament, but maintained it after it was passed. There is a very quaint letter of his to Henry VIII., 14th September 1543, in the *Hamilton Papers*, vol. ii. p. 45; and another letter is given p. 577.

[2] See Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of the English Church*, p. 178.

5. In 1532 further limits were set by Parliament to '*benefit of clergy*.' In 1513 murderers and highwaymen and burglars had been exempted from this privilege, unless they were at least sub-deacons. At that time Dr. John Voysey, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, told Henry that to try clergy in a secular court was not against the liberties of the Church. Now no one was to have this benefit for any crime whatever, unless he was at least sub-deacon.

6. In 1532 Cromwell got the Commons to complain of the independent legislation of Convocation. This complaint Henry sent to Convocation, and after much debate, 'The Submission of the Clergy,' surrendering all right to legislate, was passed by large majorities.

7. In January 1533 Henry took the decisive step of being secretly married to Anne.[1] By Easter Anne's condition was such that the marriage had to be avowed, and the honours of Queen Consort were publicly decreed to her. By various methods, including bribery, several Universities and other bodies in France and Italy had been induced to give an opinion that Henry's marriage with Katharine was invalid.[2]

[1] Cranmer was afterwards accused of having performed the ceremony; but he denied it, and apparently was not even present. Rowland Lee, one of Henry's chaplains, is said by Harpsfield to have officiated; and this is accepted by Burnet. Lee was afterwards made Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.

[2] Andrew Boorde wrote to Cromwell that the Universities of Orleans, Poitiers, Montpellier, and part of the University of

In England, first Cambridge and then Oxford[1] decided in the same way. In April and May 1533 the two Convocations gave a similar decision; and it is a fact of much significance in English Church History that the Convocations went the length of pronouncing a papal dispensation invalid according to the law of God.

8. In 1533 the famous Statute of Appeals forbade nearly all appeals to Rome.[2] This was a just and necessary measure for the good of the kingdom. The special point at the time was that it rendered Katharine's appeal to the Pope null and void.

9. Archbishop Warham had died 22nd August 1532, and 30th March 1533 Cranmer was consecrated Primate in his place. It shows that Henry had still not utterly broken with Rome, in that the usual papal confirmation was asked for and obtained.[3] Friday, 23rd May, Cranmer decided that Katharine's marriage with Henry

Paris "hold with our Sovereign Lord the King in his acts." Richard Croke wrote to Henry VIII. that members of the University of Padua had taken the King's money and then had supported Katharine (Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd series, ii. pp. 167, 299).

[1] The King wrote a statement of his own case in a tract which he called *The Glass of Truth*, which was distributed at Oxford and elsewhere (*ibid.* pp. 194–199).

[2] Gee and Hardy, p. 187.

[3] It is sometimes said that this is the last instance of such a thing in English history. But, when Mary appointed Cardinal Pole as Cranmer's successor, Paul IV. sent the usual Bull, together with a brief which confirmed Pole in the old office of Legate for the negotiation of peace.

was null and void.[1] On the 31st May Anne left the Tower of London in a procession of the greatest magnificence, to receive on her head at Westminster (Whitsunday, 1st June) the crown of the Queen of England.[2] On the 7th September 1533 she gave birth to a child, which, to the intense disappointment of its parents, was a daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth.

10. The last step on the side of England soon followed. On the 9th June 1534 a proclamation was issued for abolishing the unsurped powers of the Pope;[3] and in November the act of Supreme Head was passed, and all papal authority in England was annulled.[4]

But perhaps we ought not to regard the process as complete until the Pope had spoken *his* last word in the Bull of Deposition, which

[1] See the letter of John Tregonwell to Cromwell written on the very day (Ellis, p. 276). "In the same commission, wherein this sentence was pronounced, sat the Bishop of Winton [Gardiner], London [Stokesley], Bath [Clerk], Lincoln" [Longland] (Strype, *Cranmer*, i. p. 42).

[2] Henry VIII. himself wrote to Lady Cobham giving directions for the splendour with which she and her ladies were to accompany "our dearest wife the Lady Anne our Queen." In less than three years Anne again left the Tower on a day in May, to lay her head, where no crowned head in England had yet been laid,—on the executioner's block.

[3] "And causing all manner prayers, oracions, rubrics, canons, or mass-books, and all other books in the churches wherein the said Bishop of Rome is named, or his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicate, and rased out."

[4] Gee and Hardy, p. 243.

was drawn up in 1535 and published in 1538: but not by Clement VII. That graceful, shifty, and unfortunate Pontiff passed away 25th September 1534. In a pontificate of less than eleven years he had seen nearly half Europe throw off all ecclesiastical allegiance to the See of Rome.[1]

Henry had no sooner caused himself to be recognized as Supreme Head of the Church of England than he delegated to another the enormous powers which that title implied. Having made himself lay Pope of the English Church, he proceeded to appoint a lay Legate with plenary jurisdiction. He made Thomas Cromwell his Vicar-General. Cromwell's powers as Master of the Rolls and Principal Secretary of the King were already very great. He controlled much of the legal machinery of the realm, and also all the domestic and foreign correspondence of the Government. He allowed the King to see just as much or as little as he pleased. As Vicar-General he had absolute control of the property and government of the Church. His rise, since the fall of Wolsey, had been more like "that of a slave at once constituted grand vizier in an Eastern despotism, than of a Minister

[1] "Clement VII., intriguing on the one side with Francis against Charles and with Charles against Henry, had so mismanaged matters that no one trusted him. He lost the obedience of England, and risked that which remained in Germany" (Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*, p. 100).

of State promoted in a constitutional government" (Lord Campbell, *Lives of E. C.* i. 600). No English subject has ever possessed such power over life and property as that which was wielded by Cromwell, and perhaps no English Minister has ever so shamefully abused his power.[1] For five and a half years, January 1535 to July 1540, he reigned supreme; and his reign is rightly called a "reign of terror."

We must pass by, almost without mention, the barbarous, and for the most part iniquitous, executions of 'traitors,' the cruel burnings of 'heretics,' and the rather childish burnings of heretical books.[2] As to the last, some good may have been done by seizing and destroying scurrilous and revolutionary

[1] "Cromwell was exceedingly able, daring, and absolutely without scruple. . . . Religious convictions he probably had none. Of conscience he was wholly devoid. But he saw that, in the King's present temper, Protestantism, or at least war on the Pope and clergy, was the winning game. He pricked the King onward, and opened to him a vista not only of power, but of immense spoils" (Goldwin Smith, *The United Kingdom, a Political History*, i. p. 326).

[2] It is pleaded on Henry's behalf that he never, like some other kings, witnessed the burning of a heretic, and therefore hardly realized the cruelty of these executions. But Henry had seen warfare, and knew the horrors of war; yet he could give such orders as these respecting those who opposed him in Scotland: "Sack Holyrod house, and as many townes and villaiges about Edinborough as ye may conveniently, sack Lythe and burne and subverte it and all the rest, *putting man, woman, and childe to fyre and swoorde without exception* where any resistance shalbe made agaynst you, and this done, passe over to the Fyfe lande and extende like extremityes and destructions in all townes and villaiges" (*The Hamilton Papers*, vol. ii. p. 325, 10th April 1544).

literature sent over from the Continent or secretly produced in England. But to buy up such things in order to burn them, was simply putting money into the pockets of the publishers. Some Bishops bought up and destroyed copies of the first edition of Tyndale's New Testament;[1] and the money which they paid enabled Tyndale to bring out an improved edition (see Strype, *Cranmer*, i. chap. xxi.).

The number of persons burned for heresy seems to be doubtful; but it has been calculated that sixty-five persons were executed for denying the King's supremacy, and that sixty-one were condemned but not executed. And there were other forms of treason, and many other capital offences, besides that of denying the supremacy. Of all these executions none excited more horror, not only in England, but throughout Europe, than the judicial murders, or martyrdoms (if you will), of John Fisher, the saintly Bishop of Rochester (June 22, 1535), and Sir Thomas More, the ex-Chancellor (July 6, 1535). More, "the wittiest of moralists and the most moral of wits," might be called the most distinguished subject that Henry or any other sovereign at that time possessed, one of the chief thinkers and best writers in that age of literary activity. These two ornaments of the kingdom were sent to the scaffold, not because they refused to acknowledge Anne's children as lawful heirs to the Crown,—Parliament, they admitted, had full

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd series, ii. p. 86. The Bishop of Norwich contributes ten marks (£6, 13s. 4d.) for this purpose.

right to settle that,—but because they could not accept the preamble to the Act, which stated that Katharine's marriage with Henry was invalid, and because they could not accept Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church. But these two monstrous executions had this effect: they let all the world know that Henry's mind now was entirely made up, and that he was terribly in earnest. While Fisher was in prison, Paul III. made him a Cardinal. "Paul may send him the hat," said Henry; "I will take care that he never have a head to wear it on." His head was thrown into the Thames. More's was boiled and stuck up on London Bridge.[1]

But revolting as Cromwell's Reign of Terror was, and monstrous in its iniquity, it seems almost insignificant when compared with the work of the Inquisition, or of Alva in the same century, or that of the French Reign of Terror more than two hundred years later. Moreover, it sinks into insignificance when compared with the *social* revolution which he wrought by *the suppression of the monasteries*. This affected the nation far more than

[1] His daughter, Margaret Roper, bought it and kept it in spices till her death. Tennyson alludes to this in his *Dream of Fair Women*. "Few careers are more memorable for their pathos than More's. Fewer still are more paradoxical. . . . That the man who devised the new and revolutionary ideal of *Utopia* should end his days on the scaffold as a martyr to ancient beliefs which shackled man's intellect and denied freedom to man's thought, is one of history's perplexing ironies" (Sidney Lee, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 61).

the beheading or hanging or burning of a few scores of people whom the King or his Vicar-General wished to get out of the way; and it has had far more lasting effects than ten times the number of executions would have had. Indeed, it influenced society then much more than even such burning questions as the Pope's dispensing power, or the sale of indulgences, or the relation between faith and works. Such discussions do not very seriously affect the social structure. But to turn 9000 or 10,000 monks and nuns adrift in the land, and to deprive of settled employment the 30,000 or 40,000 (which is a very moderate estimate) men and women who worked on the estates of the religious houses, is to produce an effect on society which it is not easy to realize. Besides all this, there was the shock to sentiment, the shock to property, and the shock to religion.[1]

People think that they have disposed of a grievance when they have labelled it 'sentimental.' Sentiments are very real things, as everyone knows who has stood among the ruins of some monastic building and thought of what might have been. And what must it have been then? Every great family had an interest in some monastery, as the Mohuns and Bonviles at Newenham Abbey, the Redverses and Valletorts at Plympton Priory, within the walls of which the family had rights of hospitality and burial, and the monks of which were pledged to say Masses for ever for the souls

[1] See Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd series, iii. pp. 31–37.

of the family ancestors. Both the living and the dead seemed to be wronged by the violent suppression of all this. What property was safe if the rights of the living to shelter and worship, and the rights of the dead to interment and intercession, could be shattered without appeal? And how could the Church fail to suffer from the sudden destruction of all these monuments of piety and instruments of religion? Again, monasteries were sometimes useful in keeping the secular clergy from sinking still lower; for the regular clergy were (in the large monasteries, at any rate) better educated and more active than the parish priests. Large numbers of them could preach; and this very few parochial clergy could do. This, of course, is not an argument against the dissolution of the monasteries. It is an argument to show that, to the historian, Cromwell's work as the *malleus monachorum* who destroyed the religious houses is far more important than his Reign of Terror.

Among the chief sufferers were the labouring classes. "Religion is the one romance of the poor. It alone extends the narrow horizon of their thoughts, supplies the images of their dreams, allures them to the ideal. The graceful beings with which the creative fancy of paganism peopled the universe shed a poetic glow on the peasants' toil. But it is the peculiarity of the Christian types that, while they have fascinated the imagination, they have also purified the heart. More than any spoken eloquence, more than any dogmatic

teaching, they transform and subdue his character, till he learns to realise the sanctity of weakness and suffering, the supreme majesty of compassion and gentleness" (Lecky, *Eur. Mor.* ii. p. 106).

As to the policy of suppressing the monasteries, everyone admits three things: (1) that there were precedents, especially the very recent one of Wolsey's suppression of small houses for the endowment of his Colleges, a work in which Cromwell learned his fatal skill; (2) that there were abuses in many, if not most, of the monasteries, which called loudly for correction; (3) that in dealing with the property there was much needless destruction and indefensible misappropriation.[1] Only the second of these three points requires discussion. It is a thorny subject, and one which is difficult to approach without prejudice. But there is one prejudice which we ought to endeavour to discard in considering the problem as it presented itself to statesmen in the

[1] Lord Herbert of Cherbury thinks that the only thing which can palliate the promiscuous overthrow of the religious houses is the fact that they might use their wealth to assist those who threatened invasion from abroad. "For, certainly, the publick pretext, taken from their excessive numbers in proportion to a well-composed State, or the inordinate and vicious life of the general sort, cannot sufficiently excuse him; since, together with the supernumerary and debauch'd abbeys, priories and nunneries, he subverted and extinguished the good and opportune, without leaving any receptacle for such as through age or infirmity, being unapt for secular business, would end their days in a devout and a retired life. . . . This King had met with no occasion to do that which hath caused so much scandal to him and his Parliaments."

sixteenth century, and that is the supposition that the monastic life is in itself a mistake for the individual and a wrong to society. That feeling did not exist then. The obligation of vows of celibacy was maintained after the monasteries were destroyed; that was one of the Six Articles. No one in those days took up the position that monasticism is an evil, and we will not tolerate this evil any longer.

What may be said with fairness is this,—and it applies far more strongly to the smaller houses than to the larger ones. (1) The number and wealth of these institutions had become excessive. *They were out of all proportion to the population*, and they occupied far more than a reasonable amount of land.[1] (2) In many cases *they had ceased to fulfil their original obligations*, sometimes from indifference, more often from inability; they had not enough inmates, and they were too poor. (3) Some of them *fostered silly and noxious superstitions*, and among the thousands of inmates many were leading useless, and some were leading vicious lives. Taking them as a body, it might be said that so

[1] But they had decreased in number. Of twelve hundred which had existed only seven hundred remained to be dissolved. And everywhere the populace were ready to join in the spoliation. "The poor people thoroughly in every place be so greedy upon these Houses when they be suppressed, that by night and day, not only of the towns, but also of the country, they do continually resort, as long as any door, window, iron, or glass, or louse lead remaineth in them" (John Loudon to Lord Privy Seal). This does not prove that the monasteries were unpopular, but only that people were ready to share in the plunder.

much reform was needed, that nothing less than the drastic measure of total suppression was likely to be effectual. Whether or no that view is correct, it is, at any rate, a defensible position. The difficulty is in getting at the facts. There seems to be no doubt that the evidence against the religious houses was for the most part fabricated by those who had decided to despoil them. The one confession of a monastery which exists, that of St. Andrews, Northampton, was drawn up by their accusers; and even that contains no admission of enormities. As Edmund Burke says, "It is not with much credulity that I listen to any when they speak ill of those whom they are going to plunder. I rather suspect that vices are feigned or exaggerated when profit is looked for in the punishment. An enemy is a bad witness; —a robber is a worse." What would he have said of a case in which the evidence, as soon as it had secured a condemnation, disappeared? For that is what has happened with regard to the evidence of vice in the religious houses. But take this one significant fact. At the dissolution there were about one hundred and forty convents of women in England, more than seventy of which were Benedictine. Even the infamous Layton and Legh charged only twenty-seven nuns with misconduct, and seventeen of the twenty-seven were afterwards pensioned.[1]

[1] If any of the twenty-seven were really guilty, they were probably ladies who had disgraced themselves *before* they entered

But that abuses, and in some cases gross scandals, existed, need not be questioned. (1) The monasteries were still suffering from the ravages of the Black Death nearly two centuries before this—1348, 1349. In some religious houses every one of the inmates had died. Even in a hundred and eighty years the proper complement of brethren or sisters had not been made up, and perhaps in nearly all cases the original discipline had never been recovered. There had been a general lowering of tone, consequent upon the long period during which religious duties could not be discharged, because the requisite people were not there to discharge them. A prolonged time of make-shift is fatal to efficiency, and at last becomes demoralizing. (2) There are plenty of people at the present day who towards the end of the year get themselves sentenced to a few months' imprisonment in order to secure food and warmth and shelter during the winter months. A monastery then was much more comfortable than a jail is now, and it is probable that some men and women entered religious houses rather for the secure and quiet life than from any feeling of devotion. Such inmates would inevitably have a disastrous effect upon the morale of the community. These two considerations, therefore, make it antecedently probable that there was much

the convents. Again, Wingfield, Prior of Westacre, and a dozen of his monks were charged with abominable incontinency. Yet Wingfield and several of the twelve received pensions.

that was very unsatisfactory, especially in the smaller houses. And as the aggregate number was far too large, there was much to be said for doing away with those which had less than £200 a year, or fewer than twelve inmates. This was following Wolsey's example. Their total number was three hundred and seventy-six, of which no less than fifty-two were immediately refounded *for ever* and lived a year or two longer! It was not even pretended that *all* the small houses were dens of iniquity, and that *all* the larger were virtuous. And the alleged confessions of guilt were never mentioned until the North of England rose in rebellion after the destruction of the smaller houses in 1536.[1] Then the King told the rebels that he had acted upon the inmates' "own confessions, subscribed with their own hands."

It is a principle of English justice that accused persons are to be treated as innocent until they are proved guilty. The monasteries have been treated as guilty because, through absence of evidence, they cannot be proved innocent.

Apparently there were no small houses suppressed in Devonshire in 1536. There were six such houses: the Cluniac Priory at Barnstaple, the Austin Nunneries at Canonleigh and Cornworthy, the Austin Priory at Frithelstock, the Benedictine

[1] "How bad soever the reports of them were, some of them were made bishops, and others put into good dignities in the Church" (Latimer's Sermon before Edward VI.).

Nunnery at Polsloe, and the Benedictine Priory at Totnes. The last actually survived until 1542

Consequently the rising in the West did not take place until some years after the rising in the North. The other nine monasteries had revenues over £200 a year, and surrendered 1538, 1539, and 1540. Among these the Premonstratensian Abbey at Tor was the richest house of that Order in England (£396, 0s. 11d.). Far richer, however, was the Austin Priory at Plympton (£912, 12s. 8d.) and the great Benedictine Abbey at Tavistock (£902, 5s. 7d.). To Tavistock younger sons of great families sometimes went, to live the lives of country gentlemen, while wearing the Benedictine dress. In the fourteenth century the Abbey had a bad reputation for ease and laziness. It is worth noting that, excepting the Austin canonesses at Canonleigh and Cornbury and the Benedictines at Polsloe, all the Devonshire monasteries, including Ford, which is now in Dorset, were for men. Also, that the smaller houses here and everywhere were suppressed in the usual Tudor fashion, violence in the form of law. There was an Act of Parliament, obtained by threats, for their suppression. For the dissolution of the larger houses there was no Act. Each corporation surrendered its property to the King.

For the whole work of dissolution the King received £1,423,500; about fifteen millions in our money. What he and others got in jewels and vestments cannot be estimated. Neither the

Church nor the nation got much of this wealth. It had been proposed to found twenty or thirty new Bishoprics. Only six, very poorly endowed, were created: Chester, Westminster, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, and Bristol.[1]

By his Reign of Terror, and by his ruthlessness to the religious houses, Cromwell made many enemies; and, like Wolsey, he made very few friends. Henry tired of him, as he tired of everybody,[2] and then his hour came. He had finished the King's dirty work. He had exasperated him by recommending to him Anne of Cleves as a fourth wife. There was much money taken from monasteries which never found its way to the King's coffers. He favoured Protestantism, and witnesses swore that they had heard him say that he would fight for his opinions "against the King and all others," and that in a few years he would

[1] The dissolution produced three insurrections. The first broke out in Lincolnshire, October 1536. The second was the famous 'Pilgrimage of Grace.' And in 1537 there was a third in Cumberland.

[2] As Sir Walter Raleigh said of him in his *History of the World*— "If all the pictures and patterns of a merciless prince were lost in the world, they might all again be painted to the life out of the story of this king. For how many servants did he advance in haste (but for what virtue no man could suspect), and with the change of his fancy ruined again, no man knowing for what offence." "Cromwell, in spite of his Protestant leanings, was a time-serving rogue, and eventually came to grief in consequence" (Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*, p. 100). The man who could write in his notes that people were "to be tried and also to be executed," and that he was "to see that the evidence be well sorted," deserved his fate.

have carried his policy too far for Henry to be able to resist it. June 10, 1540, as he was sitting at the Council, the Duke of Norfolk arose and accused him of high treason. He was sent to the Tower; and all London forthwith burst out into a furore of exultation. In vain he wrote three abject appeals to Henry. July 28, the scheming head of Thomas Cromwell fell by the axe of the executioner. Alike in his rise and in his fall, he surpassed his first master, Wolsey.

Let us be grateful where gratitude is due, even to so repulsive a Minister as Cromwell. We owe to him two excellent things, the institution of *parish registers* in 1538, and the publication of *the Bible in the vulgar tongue* in 1539.[1] The Great Bible was issued in two editions in 1539 and 1540; Cranmer's Bible in six editions in 1540 and 1541. The latter is often mistaken for the former; but Cranmer's Bible and the Great Bible are distinct.

This great change of facilitating instead of forbidding a knowledge of the Scriptures leads us to the subject on which our remaining minutes must be spent, *the reform in doctrine and ritual.* The publication of the Ten Articles in 1536 was the earliest attempt at a restatement of doctrine

[1] The King by proclamation charged the people to use the Bible "moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife. And therefore no man should read it aloud to disturb the priest while he sang Mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned."

Henry himself drafted them; but no doubt they were revised by others. They are largely taken from the Confession of Augsburg. Of the Seven Sacraments, in defence of which Henry had written in 1521, only three are mentioned, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance; there is no assertion that in the Eucharist "bread and wine no longer remain" after consecration. The Convocation which passed the Ten Articles was dissolved in July. Of the men who were prominent in the English Church of that day, Wolsey and Warham and Fox and Fisher have now passed away; and among eminent laymen, Sir Thomas More and Cromwell. Of those who still remain to take part in remoulding the formularies of the Church, quite the most important is the new Primate, Cranmer. He heartily aided and carried on Cromwell's work of promoting a knowledge of the Bible in the vernacular. He heartily agreed with Cromwell's order (issued in 1538, but impossible to obey until 1539) that "one Book of the whole Bible of the largest volume" should be placed in every Church, where all who liked could come and read it. It was perhaps years before this was at all fully carried out.

In 1538 an embassy of Lutheran theologians from Germany visited England with a view to constructing a common confession of faith for both countries. The attempt failed; but through the *Thirteen Articles*, and the subsequent *Forty-two Articles*, the attempt had considerable influence on

our *Thirty-nine Articles.* Henry was utterly opposed to these Lutherans. The spirit of the 'Defender of the Faith' was still in him; and what he wanted was Roman doctrine and ritual without Roman jurisdiction,—in short, Popery without the Pope. Even if Henry had had Convocation and Parliament to back him up in this, the policy must have failed. Roman doctrine and Roman jurisdiction had grown up side by side, bound together by countless ties, each being sometimes the cause and sometimes the effect of the other. The one could not be taken and the other left. In answer to the Lutheran divines, who had greatly impressed Cranmer, Henry got Parliament, 16th June 1539, to pass an *Act for abolishing of diversity of opinions,* commonly known as the *Six Articles.* They were these: 1. Transubstantiation in its strongest form. 2. Communion in both kinds not necessary. 3. Priests may not marry. 4. Vows of chastity must be observed. 5. Solitary Masses are agreeable to God's law. 6. Auricular Confession is necessary.[1] All who denied the first

[1] The Six Articles of Henry VIII. may be compared with the *Interim* put forth by Charles V. in Germany in 1548. It was supposed to be a provisional compromise, until reformations should be determined by authority of the Council of Trent. But it contained nothing but Roman doctrine, except that married clergy might for the present retain their wives, and the cup might still be given to the laity in places where this had become customary. And it is remarkable as showing the weakness and subservience of the English clergy, that Convocation passed the Six Articles in 1539 as readily as it had passed the Ten Articles in 1536. Yet the Ten Articles were Lutheran in tone, the very wording being in

article were to be burned, whether they recanted or not, and their goods were confiscated. All who offended against any of the other five lost their goods and were imprisoned for the first offence, and died the death of a felon for the second. No wonder that the Act was called 'the Bloody Bill' and 'the Whip with the Six Strings.' The confiscation penalty marks the King's greed for money. Cranmer opposed the Bill at first, but gave way before Henry's determination.[1] Cranmer and other married clergy had at once to separate from their wives. Latimer of Worcester and Shaxton of Salisbury, who had also opposed the Bill, resigned their Sees; and in a short time more than five hundred people were imprisoned. The same Parliament that passed the Six Articles decreed that *royal proclamations should have the force of law*; which was constitutional suicide. The triumph of the anti-Reformation party seemed to be complete.

There were, roughly speaking, three parties in England at this time. (1) The majority who accepted Henry's attempt at Popery without the Pope; *i.e.* ecclesiastical independence without doctrinal change. (2) A minority who wished

some places taken from the Confession of Augsburg, while the Six Articles were distinctly Roman.

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, i. chap. xix. One is surprised to find Tunstal, with Gardiner, Lee, and Aldrich, supporting the Six Articles against Cranmer, Latimer, Shaxton, Goodrich, and Hilsey. "The Parliament men seemed all unanimous for it; the reason being, no question, because they saw the King so resolved upon it."

for less change; *i.e.* they would have had some of the Pope's power restored to him. (3) A minority who wished for more change; *i.e.* they would have a great deal of Roman doctrine rejected along with Roman jurisdiction. This party sympathized with the *Ten Articles* of 1536, and *The Institution of a Christian Man*, a handbook of religious instruction published in 1537. It was the party which was to prevail in the end. We may add a very small group, chiefly represented by Reginald Pole, who were the exact opposite of the majority, and wished for the Pope without Popery; *i.e.* they wanted to keep the Papal Supremacy and reform Roman doctrine. This was even more impracticable than Henry's scheme. It was possible for a short time to keep Roman doctrines without Roman authority. But to retain Roman authority and give up Roman doctrines is not possible for a moment, as every attempt from Roscelin to Döllinger has proved. Rome instantly forbids the change in doctrine, and then the would-be reformer must either give up the reform or give up Rome.

The Institution of a Christian Man, published by royal authority in May 1537, embodied the *Ten Articles* of 1536, and added explanations to reconcile the anti-reform party to them. Seven sacraments are spoken of, but three are superior in dignity. Christ's merits are sufficient, but the merits of the saints have value. Christ is the only Mediator, but the saints may be asked to

intercede for us. Scripture mentions only two orders of ministers, priests or bishops and deacons; but other orders are lawful. Images instruct those who cannot read, and may be honoured, but the honour must be given to God. Ceremonies do not remit sin, but they help devotion. *The Institution of a Christian Man* was called the "Bishops' Book.[1]" In May 1543 *The Erudition of any Christian Man* was published, and was called the "King's Book." In it the King's Supremacy is more strongly stated than in the "Bishops' Book"; the Eucharistic doctrine is nearer to Transubstantiation; and it speaks of bishops *and* priests, not bishops *or* priests. But throughout all three, the *Ten Articles*, the *Institution*, and the *Erudition*, Cranmer's influence in modifying Roman doctrine, and asserting the position of the Church of England, is manifest.[2] In 1543 Henry married his sixth wife, who survived him, Katharine Parr, as she is commonly called, but really Katharine Latimer, for she was the widow of Neville Lord Latimer. Her influence was on the reforming side, as also was that of Edward, Earl of Hertford, brother of Jane Seymour, and therefore uncle of the Prince of Wales.

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, i. chap. xiii. An amended second edition was published in 1543.

[2] Perhaps we may also trace his influence in the fact that the men who were selected by Henry as tutors for his son Edward, Sir John Cheke and Richard Cox (afterwards Bishop of Ely), were decidedly on the anti-Roman side. As Vice-Chancellor of Oxford (1547–1552), Cox was an active destroyer of images, pictures, and books.

Plots were made against Cranmer, as against Wolsey and Cromwell, to undermine his influence with the King. But in Cranmer's case they failed; and it is to his credit that he never tried to retaliate.[1] His chief enemies were Bishop Gardiner, the Duke of Norfolk, and his son Surrey. Norfolk and Surrey were the last persons sentenced to death in Henry's reign. Surrey was executed; but Henry died on the morning of the day for Norfolk's execution, and he escaped. Meanwhile Cranmer continued his work of the reform of doctrine in ritual. The Parliament of 1544 modified the monstrous *Six Articles Act.* With special reference to "the miserable state of Christendom," Cranmer drew up the first English Litany, from the Uses of Sarum and York and Hermann's *Consultatio,* handling all very freely. The outcome was substantially the service which we still use. It retained three invocations to Saints and Angels, and contained a prayer against "the Bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities." The invocations were struck out in 1549, and the prayer in 1559. The Litany, with both of these, was ordered to be used for the first time 11th June 1544. It was printed with the King's Primer in 1545,[2]

[1] At the third attempt to ruin Cranmer, the one which has been immortalized by Shakespeare, Henry said, "I would you should well understand that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden." This put a stop to further plots during Henry's lifetime (Strype, *Cranmer*, i. chap. xxviii.).

[2] In the King's Primer there are very emphatic declarations as

and was first sung in St. Paul's on Sunday, 18th October, in that year. November 23, 1545, a new Parliament assembled to find money for military operations. It passed an Act for the dissolution of chantries, hospitals, and free chapels. This alarmed the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge; but they were assured that their endowments would not be touched. The King thanked Parliament for the money, but rebuked them all round, clergy and laity alike, for their miserable religious disputes and their want of charity. It was good that all should read the Scriptures, but not that the Word of God should be jangled in every alehouse.[1]

But this exhortation did not put a stop to prosecutions for heresy. George Wishart was burned

to the importance of having public services and other devotions in English.

[1] This was Henry's last appearance in Parliament. The speech is preserved in Hall's *Chronicle*. "Be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions; and although you be permitted to read Holy Scriptures and to have the Word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed so to do only to inform your conscience and inform your children and families, not to make Scripture a railing and taunting stock against priests and preachers. I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently that precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rimed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same. For of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint among you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor God Himself among Christians never less served. Therefore be in charity one with another, like brother and brother; and love, dread, and serve God, to which I, your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you." The speech is also given in full by Lord Herbert of Cherbury in his *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*

at St. Andrews, 28th March 1546; Anne Askew and others at Smithfield, 16th July. Copies of Tyndale's and Coverdale's New Testaments, with the writings of Wiclif, Frith, and Barnes, were burned at St. Paul's Cross, 26th September. Early in January 1547, Cranmer took advantage of Gardiner's absence from England to try to get the King to sign a letter addressed to the two Archbishops for the abolition of creeping to the Cross on Good Friday, and other old ceremonies. But in this he was not successful, and on Friday, 28th January, King Henry VIII. died.

Englishmen's estimate of Henry's *character* will always be influenced by their estimate of his *work*. He believed himself to be an instrument of Providence raised up for great purposes; and the flattery of everyone confirmed him in the belief that he was the most learned and most illustrious of kings. Such a man could easily persuade himself that resistance to his will was the blackest of treason; and the experience of the civil wars had made all men familiar with the policy that those who get the upper hand, in self-preservation show no mercy. He was no hero, either as a man or as a king.[1] He shared, perhaps

[1] A comparison of the state of affairs at the beginning and at the end of his reign tells heavily against him. "Henry VIII. inherited a stable throne, an overflowing treasury, and the affections of a united people. He undermined the first, he emptied the second, and alienated the third. He mounted the throne in close alliance with the most powerful monarchy in Europe, and threatened by the hostility of none; he left it without a sincere friend, and with

he exceeded, the coarseness of the age in which he lived. He could be fickle, and heartless, and brutal, and revengeful. But he had a sense of duty and a determined purpose as a king; and he was a man of light and leading. His work was a true and lasting expression of the needs and aspirations of his age. Like his character, it was mixed with base elements. But, however much self-will and self-interest and sensuality may have helped to urge him on, in the rupture with Rome, in the abolition of an antiquated and partially corrupted monasticism, and in the endeavour to establish a purified and simplified Catholicism as the religion of England, he was fighting on the side of truth and light and progress.[1] The English Reformation is a work

many a secret enemy" (Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*, p. 40).

[1] "On mature consideration, I am inclined to regard Henry himself as the main originator of the greatest and most critical changes of his reign; and I am sure that, after the fall of Wolsey, there is no Minister, great or small, who can claim anything like an original share in determining the royal policy. . . .

"I do not believe him to have been a monster of lust and blood, as so many of the Roman Catholic writers regard him. I do not attempt to draw him after my own idea; but I seem to see in him a grand gross figure, very far removed from ordinary human sympathies, self-engrossed, self-confident, self-willed; unscrupulous in act, violent and crafty, but justifying to himself by his belief in himself, unscrupulousness, violence, and craft. . . . A strong, high-spirited, ruthless, disappointed, solitary creature; a thing to hate, or to pity, or to smile at, or to shudder at, or to wonder at, but not to judge" (Stubbs, *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 244, 291).

on which it is impossible for either a Churchman or an Englishman to look without some feeling of shame and distress. But it compares favourably with similar work elsewhere, (1) in saving most of what was good in the old, while it appropriated what was best in the new; (2) in avoiding sudden ruptures with the past; (3) in keeping the nation in the main united, and thus escaping those bloody religious wars which desolated the Continent for nearly a century, and in Germany delayed the progress of civilization for nearly two centuries. And this we owe in no small measure to the sagacity and the resolution, or (if you like) to the cunning and the ruthlessness, of Henry VIII. At any rate, he had insight into the men and things with which he had to deal, and he helped his Ministers to lift England into an era of new and nobler possibilities.[1]

[1] Some of the remarks of Lord Herbert of Cherbury upon Henry VIII.'s life and character are well worth quoting. "Because his most bitter censurers agree, that he had all manner of perfection, either of nature or education; and that he was of a most deep judgment in all affairs to which he apply'd himself; a prince not only liberal and indulgent to his family and court, but even to strangers, whom he willingly saw; and one that made choice both of able and good men for the clergy, and of wise and grave counsellors for his state-affairs; and, above all, a prince of a royal courage: I shall not controvert these points, but come to my particular observations. I find him to have been ever most zealous of his honour and dignity; insomuch, that his most question'd passages were countenanc'd either with home or foreign authority: so many universities of Italy and France maintaining his repudiating of Queen Katharine of Spain; and his parliament authorising the divorces and decapitations of his

following wives, the dissolutions of the monasteries, and divers others of his most branded actions: so that by his parliaments in publick, and juries in private affairs, he at least wanted not colour and pretext to make them specious to the world. . . . Never prince went upon a truer maxim for his kingdom; which was to make himself arbiter of Christendom: and had it not caused him so much, none had ever proceeded more wisely. But as he would be an actor, where he needed only be a spectator, he both engaged himself beyond what was requisite, and by calling in the money he lent his allies, did often disoblige them when he had most need of their friendship. Yet thus he was the most active prince of his time. . . . At home it was his manner to treat much with his parliaments; where, if gentle means served not, he came to some degrees of the rough." As to his great faults, Lord Herbert admits his terrible self-will, his greed and extravagance, and his sensuality, the last, however, being a personal fault rather than "damageable to the publick." "With all his crimes, yet he was one of the most glorious princes of his time: insomuch, that not only the chief potentates of Christendom did court him, but his subjects in general did highly reverence him, as the many tryals he put them to sufficiently testify."

III.

1547–1558.

THE PROTESTANT FAILURE AND THE ROMAN FAILURE.

"Utopus, having understood that, before his coming among them, the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were so divided among themselves, that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, since, instead of uniting their forces against him, every different party in religion fought by themselves; after he had subdued them, made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, yet without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force than that of persuasion, and was to mix with it neither reproaches nor violence; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

"This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought that the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it not fit to determine anything rashly, and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God."

Sir Thomas More, *Utopia.*

III.

1547–1558.

THE PROTESTANT FAILURE (1547–1553) AND THE ROMAN FAILURE (1553–1558).

HENRY VIII.'s three children followed him to the throne in the order laid down in the statute of 1544. *In all three reigns the progress of the Reformation is the chief feature.* Experience showed that Henry's compromise of Roman doctrine without Roman jurisdiction could not last. England must either go forward, or go back. It must either give up Roman doctrine, or it must return to its allegiance to Rome; and it did first the one, and then the other, before making its final decision. Under Edward, the reform in doctrine was carried forward. Under Mary, first the work of Edward was undone by readmitting Roman doctrine, and then the work of Henry, by reaccepting the authority of the Roman See. Under Elizabeth, the work of both Henry and Edward was done over again. In her long reign, four times as long as those of Edward and Mary united, the religious position of the English

nation took its final shape, that in which it remains in all essentials at the present time.

The six and a half years of Edward's reign fall into two divisions: the *Rule of Somerset*, from January 1547 to October 1549; and the *Rule of Northumberland*, October 1549 to July 1553. First the King's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, now created Duke of Somerset, was made Protector: and, when he was set aside for incompetency, the Earl of Warwick became Protector, and took the title of Duke of Northumberland. Both Protectors ruled badly: Somerset, because he was unwise; Northumberland, because he was selfish: and under both, the new nobility, who had been kept in order by Henry's strong rule, got the upper hand, and made the English nation of little account on the Continent and very discontented at home.

"Woe unto thee, O land," says the Preacher, "when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning" (Eccles. x. 16). That text may serve as a summary for the reign of King Edward VI.[1] He was only nine when he succeeded his father, and only fifteen when he died; and the princes and nobles who surrounded him cared much

[1] Dr. John Story, the first Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, quoted the first half of this text in a violent speech which he made in Parliament, 21st January 1549, for which the Commons sent him to prison; the first instance on record of the House punishing a member for his conduct in the House. Under Mary he took the lead in persecuting, and acted as Queen's Proctor in the prosecution of Cranmer. In 1571 he was executed for treason.

more for their own interests than for the well-being of the nation. His mother's brother, now made Duke of Somerset, was indeed an earnest man; but his want of capacity more than neutralized his earnestness. In his less than three years of power he did three foolish things: he alienated the English party in Scotland; he embroiled the nation in a senseless war with France; and he exasperated large numbers of the population by hurrying on the Reformation of ritual and doctrine in advance of public opinion.[1]

The reign of the child-king was revolutionary almost throughout; and this was marked at the outset. For the first time in English History the ceremony at the coronation which represented election by the nation was dispensed with. And Cranmer, in the coronation address, departed widely from previous associations. He went back to the Jewish Church for parallels. Josiah had come to the throne in tender years and had extirpated idolatry. Edward VI. might in like manner destroy image-worship, and restore the true worship of God. It was not the oil which

[1] All three points are somewhat questioned by Mr. Pollard (*England under Protector Somerset*, pp. 96 ff.); but he admits a good deal, especially the failure of the Protector's policy (p. 175). In the *Cambridge Modern History*, Professor Pollard again defends Somerset from criticism. "He believed that the strength of a King lay not in the severity of his laws or the rigour of his penalties, but in the affections of his people; and not one instance of death or torture for religion stains the brief and troubled annals of his rule" (p. 476).

made him God's anointed, but the power given him from on high. In short, he exhorted the young King, not so much to uphold and defend the Church, as to purify and reform religion.[1]

Cranmer entirely acquiesced in the protectorate of Somerset, although it superseded himself. He was probably content that the Protector should manage State affairs, while he devoted himself to the work on which he had been for some time engaged, of reforming doctrine and ritual. And it is this work which gives its real character to the reign. The political developments, although interesting in their way (especially Somerset's folly in making Scotland once more the friend of France and the enemy of England), are comparatively unimportant. At the end of July the King's printer, Grafton, issued two publications which to this day are matters of much discussion, the *Injunctions of Edward* VI. and the *First Book of Homilies.* The *Homilies* had been in preparation under Henry VIII. They were to serve two purposes: to supply sermons where the parish priest was incapable of preaching, and to win the nation more and more to the Reformation movement. The Homilies are twelve in number. The

[1] No attempt seems to have been made to cultivate the young King's affections. He rarely saw his sisters, each of whom had her own establishment; and, excepting Barnaby Fitzpatrick, he had few or no young friends. He signed the death-warrants of both his uncles with readiness and without emotion, and wrote about them in a very cold-blooded way in his journal. For his tutor, Sir John Cheke, he had, however, real affection.

third, fourth, and fifth, on Salvation, Faith, and Good Works, are by Cranmer; and that on Good Works contains an attack on old superstitions. The first, on the Reading of Holy Scriptures, is probably by Cranmer.[1] The sixth, on Charity, is by Bonner.[2] Other Homilies were promised, but no more were put forth until the reign of Elizabeth (1563). This first Book of Homilies was issued by the Council without the sanction of Convocation. It is remarkable for its omissions. The Church is ignored. There is no Homily on the Sacraments. The Eucharist is not mentioned.[3]

While the Homilies were not very controversial, the *Injunctions* were avowedly so. They professed to be drawn up for "the suppression of

[1] In the Homily on Reading of Holy Scriptures, the phrase which has since become famous is found, that in Scripture "is *contained* God's true word." In the Ten Articles of Henry VIII. it was declared that the Bible and the three Creeds *are* "the infallible words of God"; and those who denied this were pronounced to be "members of the devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned."

[2] Gardiner thought the Homilies a mistake, and refused to help. He specially criticized the Homily on Salvation.

[3] These Homilies were meant to take the place of the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man*, issued near the end of Henry's reign. Soon after them Nicholas Udall's translation of the *Paraphrases of Erasmus* was issued, under the patronage of Queen Katharine Parr. This, it was hoped, would act as an antidote to the decidedly Protestant versions of Tyndale and Coverdale, which, since the death of Henry VIII., had again acquired a considerable circulation. Gardiner objected to the Paraphrases as much as to the Homilies, and wrote to Somerset stating his objections to both, and pointing out that they did not agree with one another (Strype, *Cranmer*, ii., App. xxxvi.).

idolatry and superstition throughout the King's realms and dominions, and for planting true religion, to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses." They were addressed to both clergy and laity. Four times a year every incumbent was to remind the people that the Bishop of Rome's "usurped power and jurisdiction" was abolished, and to condemn the old image-worship as idolatry. All images which had been "abused with pilgrimage and offering" were to be removed. All "pictures, paintings, and monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition" were to be destroyed; an order which caused intense distress at the time, and inflicted a permanent and incalculable injury upon art and archæology. The Litany was to be said, not in procession, but "in the midst of the church." An alms-chest was to be put near the high altar, and the incumbent was to exhort the people to give to the poor what had formerly "otherwise than God commanded" been spent upon pardons, "decking of images, offering of candles," and other "blind devotions." But it is worth noting that, in the new form of the Bidding Prayer, prayers for the dead are enjoined. Bishops Bonner and Gardiner protested against the Injunctions, and were sent to the Fleet Prison.

Parliament met 4th November. It had been as carefully packed as the one which broke with Rome and suppressed the monasteries; and it continued to sit, session after session, throughout the reign. It did some excellent work in repealing the cruel

laws made under Henry VIII., especially against heresy and treason and poisoning. It also repealed the monstrous Act by which royal proclamations had the force of law. It decreed that no one should be "convicted for any offence of treason," unless he "be accused by two sufficient and lawful witnesses, or shall willingly, *without violence*, confess the same." Trials for treason under Somerset were not very frequent; and there was no intimidation of jurors. But the special feature of Somerset's rule was that neither the pillory nor torture was used. In this it stands alone in that age. November 20, Convocation resolved that Holy Communion should be administered to the laity in both kinds; and this was forthwith adopted and passed by Parliament. December 17, Convocation, by fifty-three to twelve, rescinded all laws and canons against the marriage of the clergy; and this also at once passed the House of Commons.

Meanwhile a royal visitation by means of commissioners was taking place in every diocese, the Bishops of which were forbidden to hold visitations while the royal visitation was being held. The general object of the visitation was to carry out the iconoclastic Injunctions. Everything was in confusion; many not knowing what the existing law was; others holding to the old ways in spite of plain legislation to the contrary;[1] others, again, making changes for which there was no authority whatever.

[1] See Strype, *Cranmer*, ii. chap. xv.

Service-books drawn up by private individuals seem to have been common, and a few of them still survive. All kinds of doctrine, especially about the Eucharist, might be heard, not only in churches, but in alehouses. The host was adored by some, and received abominable nicknames from others; and the grossest irreverence was often manifested both inside and outside churches. The stealing of church plate and furniture was not uncommon.[1]

Early in 1548 it was ordered that the old ceremonies of candles at Candlemas, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and palms on Palm Sunday, were to cease; but that, of other rites, nothing was to be changed or omitted without proper authority. February 21, the removal of all images was ordered. This order caused a revolt in Cornwall. It was soon put down, and all the rebels, with the exception of thirty, were pardoned. But it showed what exasperation this fanatical destructiveness was causing.

Far more important than these changes was the

[1] "Besides the profanation of churches, there prevailed now another evil, relating also to churches, viz., That the utensils and ornaments of these sacred places were spoiled, embezzled, and made away, partly by the churchwardens and partly by other parishioners. Whether the cause were, that they would do that themselves which they imagined would ere long be done by others, viz. robbing the churches; which, it may be, those that bore an ill-will to the reformation might give out, to render it the more odious. But certain it is, that it now became more or less practised all the nation over, to sell or take away chalices, crosses of silver, bells, and other ornaments" (Strype, *Cranmer*, ii. chap. viii.).

issue on March 8 of a form *in English* for the *administration* of the Holy Communion, which was to come into use at Easter. Thus on Easter Day, (1st April) 1548, the *Holy Communion was for the first time administered in English.* This does not mean that the Mass in Latin was abolished. The old office was for the present to go on unchanged; but when there were communicants, there was to be a short English service after the priest's Mass, and the communicants were to receive the wine as well as the bread. In this English service there was a general confession, which (the book stated) was to suffice, when the communicant did not desire private confession and absolution. This combination of the Latin Mass with an English Communion was probably as good a stepping-stone as could be made to the further changes that were contemplated. In order to feel his way towards these, Cranmer circulated three series of questions on doctrine among leading clergy. The answers to them showed him how much sympathy or opposition he might expect.

24th November 1548, Parliament met again to do very memorable work. 14th December, the draft of the new Prayer-Book was introduced in the Lords amidst intense excitement. In the course of the discussion it became evident that Cranmer had abandoned Transubstantiation. The new Book passed the Lords, and was sent down to the Commons 19th December. It was adopted, and the *First Prayer-Book of Edward VI.* with the

first *Act of Uniformity* was passed 21st January 1549.[1]

This First Book is a landmark in the first stage of the English reform in ritual. It is purely English; English in language, and English in spirit and structure. The influence of Rome has been set aside; the influence of continental Protestantism has not yet come in. During a history of nearly a thousand years the English Church had failed to produce a national ritual. In the Preface to the First Book five different Uses are mentioned, Salisbury, Hereford, Bangor, York, and Lincoln. And there had been at least seven others. But in the thirteenth century Wells and Exeter gave up their own Uses and adopted that of Sarum. St. Paul's and Lichfield followed suit two centuries later.

[1] It is doubtful whether the First Prayer-Book was ever formally sanctioned by Convocation. Since the separation from Rome, Convocation had lost a great deal of its importance and influence; and it is possible that the First Prayer-Book received the approval of the clergy from the same body which sanctioned the English Order of Communion in March 1548; namely, a committee of divines appointed by the Crown as assessors to the Primate. Very little is known about what was done by Convocation during the remainder of the reign (1550–1553). The process by which the Book was constructed is equally doubtful. Cranmer certainly did most of the work, and we know that once he asked others to come to Windsor and help him. But was there any permanent committee? If so, who were they? And how were they appointed? The materials out of which the Book was constructed are manifest. They are the Use of Sarum and the Reformed Breviary dedicated to Paul III. in 1535 by Cardinal Quignon; and what does not come from these is much more Lutheran than Calvinistic or Zwinglian in tone.

In 1542 Convocation adopted much of the Sarum Use for the whole of the Southern Province. But until 1549 there was no national Use. To obtain such a thing was a great gain. Brevity and simplicity were two other great gains. Before this time a parish priest required at least four Service-books: a *Breviary*, which would perhaps be in several volumes, a *Missal*, a *Processional*, and a *Manual*. These last two were rather quickly worn out by use outside the church in bad weather. The accounts of Stratton in Cornwall show that a new Manual and Processional were wanted about every ten years. Moreover, the old Service-books, by their intricacy and language, could be used only by the clergy: they were unintelligible to the laity. A child can understand the Prayer-Book; and to a large extent it has become a book of private devotion for the laity. Of course much has been sacrificed for the sake of brevity and simplicity;[1] but the result is that the Church of England possesses what is not only "the most conservative of the Liturgies of the Reformation," but also "the most popular Service-book in Christendom." And

[1] "If it is urged that the English Bishops did not conform to the primitive practice in all respects, but removed from the Liturgy some portions which are invariably found in the ancient formularies; to this we answer, that the English Bishops removed those portions on account of the superstitious use of them which had become prevalent. And even if some may think that they acted unadvisedly in this step, still it was but a small error in comparison with the good which they effected" (W. Gresley, *The English Church*, p. 81).

besides all this, the English Church is the only Church which has preserved for all her people the daily devotions, morning and evening, of antiquity. In other Churches the Canonical Hours survive, but only for monks and clergy. The Anglican Morning and Evening Prayer are a reality to thousands of lay people. As Archdeacon Freeman says: "The English Church is in this matter the heir of the world. She may have diminished her inheritance; but all other Western Churches have thrown it away."

But these advantages were by no means manifest to everyone at that time. The new Book came into use on Whitsunday, 9th June. Instantly there was an explosion, especially in Devon and Cornwall. It began at Sampford Courtenay on Whit-Monday, and spread with great rapidity and violence. A Devonshire audience hardly needs to be reminded that there is a narrative of this Devonshire rising, written by an Exeter man, John Vowel *alias* Hoker, who witnessed it, though he did not write of it till long afterwards, 1580 (see *Memorials of Old Devonshire*, pp. 81 ff.). For those who spoke Cornish an English Book had no attractions; the Latin Mass, if unintelligible, was familiar. There were risings in about twenty other counties; but by no means all of them were caused by the reform of ritual. The *enclosing of commons* by landowners, the *depreciation of the currency*, and the *wasteful expenditure of the Court*, were among the reasons for rebellion elsewhere. But in the West

the rising was definitely against the movement which had culminated in the new Prayer-Book; and it was the most formidable popular opposition which the English Reformation encountered. The Devonshire rebels wanted to have back again the Six Articles, the Latin Mass, images, ashes, palms, holy water, a restoration of at least half the confiscated Church property, and two abbeys in each county.[1] The rising led to the overthrow of Somerset,[2] who was supposed to have encouraged the rebels in some parts of the country: 14th October he was in the Tower.

A religious reaction was expected after his fall; but under the new Protector, Northumberland, *the work of destruction went forward.* Before the end of 1549, a royal proclamation required the surrender of all the old Service-books, that they might be

[1] For Cranmer's answer to the Devonshire men, see Strype, *Cranmer*, ii. chap. x. and App. xl.

[2] Another cause of the overthrow of the Protector was his allowing his brother Thomas, Lord High Admiral of England, to be struck down by Bill of Attainder and executed. The Admiral perhaps deserved his fate. But it was strange that his brother never said a word for him either in the House of Lords or in the Council, and that he signed the death-warrant, which is still in existence. Cranmer signed it also, which an ecclesiastic could not do without violating Canon Law. Probably Somerset bullied the Archbishop into signing, that the responsibility might be divided. One of the complaints against Somerset was that he set up a Court of Requests in his own house "to hear the petitions and suits of poor men; and upon the compassion he took of their oppressions, if he ended not their businesses, he would send his letters to Chancery in their favour." This was amiable, but, of course, it was illegal. Ellis gives one of these letters (3rd series, iii. p. 301).

destroyed; and this was enforced by Act of Parliament early in 1550. Henry VIII.'s Primer was to be spared, provided that the invocation of saints was blotted out. This Act also decreed the destruction of all images which still remained in churches. Here again an exception was made. An image might be spared, provided it was of a "dead person which hath not been commonly reputed or taken for a saint." So that an image of Henry VIII. might remain; but an image of St. Paul must be destroyed.

At the end of 1550, royal commissioners visited the libraries at Oxford, and destroyed, or sold to be cut up as old parchment, thousands of MSS. Any book with an illuminated letter was condemned as superstitious. A little later, commissions were sent out to seize all superfluous church plate; and church bells, rich altar-cloths, and vestments were also seized. Altars had previously been destroyed, in order that "an honest table" might be substituted. Bishoprics also were freely plundered, and Exeter was a great sufferer. From being one of the wealthiest Sees, it became one of the poorest. In short, far more than the last years of Henry's reign, the last years of Edward's are the era of ecclesiastical spoliation. Cromwell, with his violence, did put a stop to much scandal and superstition. Those who ruled in Edward's name robbed for robbery's sake, and destroyed for destruction's sake; the courtiers filling their pocket in the general scramble for the possessions

of the Church.[1] At first, forms of law were used. Under Somerset the chantries were legally suppressed by Act of Parliament. But a little later Northumberland and his friends simply took whatever they pleased.[2] The one exception was the work of the boy King. By his own act he applied some of the revenues of the chantries to the foundation of the grammar schools which still bear his name.[3]

We must look once more at the reform in doctrine and ritual, the progress of which was not stopped by the rebellion in Devon and Cornwall. It was probably never intended that the First Prayer-Book should be final; and in 1552 the *Second Book of Common Prayer* was issued. It

[1] Mr. Pollard, who says all that he can in favour of Somerset, admits that "the blot that has left the deepest stain upon his memory is the rapacity with which he profited by the spoliation of the Church. . . . While the treasury was exhausted, the extravagance of Somerset House was an offence in the eyes of all men; and when, in order to provide materials for it, the Protector demolished the aisle of St. Paul's containing the Dance of Death, he incurred the charge, not merely of sacrilege, but also of vandalism" (p. 315).

[2] In comparing Somerset's work with Northumberland's, it should be remembered that the First Prayer-Book was produced under the former, the Second under the latter. Somerset's policy of reform looks very moderate when compared with Northumberland's.

[3] Mr. Leach (*English Schools at the Reformation*) regards Edward VI. as a "spoiler of schools," and says that he founded none. This is an incorrect inference from the fact that those which bear his name are so often schools which had existed as chantry schools before his day. But Stamford and St. Albans were not such. It is Strype who has led people astray respecting the grammar schools attributed to Edward VI.

was the First Book, revised in a more decidedly Protestant direction under the influence of Peter Martyr and other continental reformers, but still retaining close relationship with the ancient Service-books. And in June 1553 a *Book of Articles*, forty-two in number, was issued by the Privy Council. These forty-two, with considerable omissions and additions, became the Thirty-nine Articles which are still in force. The Second Book and the Forty-two Articles represent the triumph of the thoroughgoing reformers, and exhibit much influence from the Continent.[1] This influence was exercised, in the case of the Second Book, probably through Hooper, in the case of the Articles, certainly through Cranmer.[2]

About a month after the issue of the Articles the young King died. Both in Church and State the government which had been carried on in his name was a failure. As regards the Church, there is much for which we can be thankful in the two Prayer-Books; and we can see that much which is

[1] The Second Book "marks the flood-tide of Protestant feeling. The changes made in the Elizabethan Prayer-Book of 1559 were intended so conciliate Anglo-Catholics; and the revision of 1662 worked in the same direction" (C. Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, p. 314).

[2] Cranmer at this time was corresponding with reformers on the Continent with a view to getting all Reformed Churches to unite and form one communion. His death put an end to the correspondence, which was renewed under Elizabeth by Matthew Parker and Calvin. Then Calvin's death put an end to it. See Cranmer's letters to Melanchthon and Calvin in March 1552 (*Parker Society*, 1846).

not in them was wisely omitted. But these wholesome changes were effected far too rapidly, and caused a needless amount of pain and irritation to a nation that is naturally conservative. And there were other changes which were not wholesome. As Bacon says, "There is a superstition in avoiding superstition; when men think to do best, if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received," thus taking away much that is good along with the bad. No nation can nourish its soul on mere negations, or be raised to noble aspirations by mere destructiveness. Robbery in the name of reformation shocked thoughtful men of all schools, and scandalized even the indifferent. The enthusiasm with which the persecuted Princess Mary was welcomed as the lawful heir to the throne shows plainly that the majority of the nation was sick of being practised upon by a medley of religious theorists, each claiming to have a monopoly of the true simplicity of the Gospel;[1] and of being

[1] Martin Micronius wrote to Bullinger from London, 20th May 1550: "There are Arians, Marcionites, Libertines, Danists, and the like monstrosities, in great numbers": and again, 14th August 1551: "The Arians are now beginning to shake our churches with greater violence than ever"; and he says that new sectaries are rising up day by day. In 1551, Thomas Chamberlain wrote: "England is at this day the harbour for all infidelity." This evil is alluded to in Butler's *Hudibras* (Part III. canto ii. 7):

> "So, ere the storm of war broke out,
> Religion spawn'd a various rout
> Of petulant capricious sects,
> The maggots of corrupted texts."

Compare also Dryden's *Religio Laici*, 415–420.

misgoverned by a handful of unscrupulous adventurers, who called themselves the Ministers of the King.

Three kinds of doctrine were steadily, or even rapidly, on the increase during Edward's short reign,—the wild tenets of the Anabaptists, Calvinism, and Arianism. It was probably because of the last that, whereas the First Prayer-Book orders the Athanasian Creed to be said only six times in the year, the Second orders it to be said thirteen times.

Yet another thing was hideously on the increase, —vice. Abundant evidence shows that the morality of all classes had become rapidly worse and worse. The Reformers constantly lament this. Their purification of religion had gone hand in hand with a terrible deterioration of society.

Dr. Döllinger, in his work on the Reformation,[1] has collected a great deal of evidence to show that the immediate effect of the Reformation, both among teachers and taught, was great laxity of conduct. The sources from which he draws may be often suspected of prejudice and exaggeration, if not of downright invention. But there are the confessions of the Reformers themselves, and

[1] *Die Reformation, ihre innere Entwickelung und ihre Wirkungen im Umfange des Lutherischen Bekenntnisses*, Regensburg, 1848–1851. It is, as the author said to me some twenty years later, "a one-sided book," written with the definite object of showing that the German Reformers did *not* revive the purity of primitive Christianity. In his later years he had a great admiration for Luther, while fully recognizing his faults and limitations.

particularly of Luther, as to their disappointment and dismay concerning the outcome of their teaching. Luther in his later years seems to admit that the last state is worse than the first, especially in Wittenberg, which he feels inclined to renounce. He thinks that only the malignant agency of the devil can account for such an amazing and disheartening reversal of all reasonable expectations. A time of great upheaval, whether in religion or politics, cannot well be favourable to general advance in morality.

On the other hand, there was, a little later, an immense advance in literary activity, in which the Universities took the lead. Of the great dramatic writers who furnish the first material for the history of the English stage, Lely, Lodge, and Peele were Oxford men, Marlowe and Nash were of Cambridge, while Greene belonged to both Universities.[1]

[1] "Both the Universities now begin to play, and played as they have never quite done since, their proper part in the national literary life. The reasons for this are not difficult to find, but they are interesting. The conversion of monastic property, and the shutting up of chantries, monasteries, etc., as outlets for private benevolence and piety, had made the founding of colleges, and of grammar schools, the feeders of colleges, more than ever popular. The climbing of the secular clergy on the ruins of the regular, and their close connection with the collegiate system, established perhaps the happiest combined scheme of education and professional subsistence that any country has ever had" (Saintsbury).

The Roman Failure (1553–1558).

Four days after the death of Edward VI., the ambitious schemer Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey Queen of England. He had persuaded the dying King to set aside Henry VIII.'s will, sanctioned by Act of Parliament, and name Lady Jane Grey in preference to the Princess Mary. The reason that weighed with the fanatical young King was that his cousin Jane was of the Reformed Church, while his sister Mary was a devoted Romanist. What weighed with Northumberland was that Lady Jane Grey was his own daughter-in-law, and he expected to rule her through her husband; whereas the strong-willed Mary would be sure to govern as well as reign. Lady Jane was proclaimed, amidst the sullen silence of the Londoners, 10th July 1553. Nine days later, Mary was proclaimed, amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the thousands who had marched with her from Norfolk and the thousands who welcomed her in London. Those shouts were the nation's condemnation of the incompetent and greedy statesmen who had misgoverned England for six years and a half.[1] They were evidence

[1] "The tide of popular enthusiasm which bore Mary to the throne was not primarily a reaction against the Reformation; and had the question of deciding between Mary and Northumberland been confined to Protestants, the issue would have been the same. . . . They welcomed in Mary, not merely the representative of hereditary right, . . . but their deliverer from the violence and

that Englishmen do not like to be hurried through momentous changes, and have no sympathy with robbery or destructiveness. They were also evidence that Englishmen do sympathize with the oppressed, and rejoice when those who have been defrauded at last come into their own. To the men of that 19th July Mary was a princess who had been shamefully treated by her father from the time that Anne Boleyn took his fancy, and meanly persecuted by those who had acted in the name of her brother, and even by her brother himself. All their machinations had failed, and she had come to the throne which was hers by hereditary and parliamentary right. It remained to be proved whether the downtrodden princess would make a satisfactory queen.[1]

In fairness to her, it must be admitted that her past was quite overwhelmingly against her. To begin with, she was only half English; and the other half of her was, not French or German, which might have introduced advantageous elements, but Spanish; and at that time there was no country which was less understood or less liked by Englishmen than Spain. Through her whole life (she was already thirty-seven) she had been devoted to her mother's family and her mother's people. She

iniquity of Northumberland's rule" (Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*, pp. 311 f.). In an Appendix, Mr. Pollard gives an admirable survey of the materials for the history of this period.

[1] Renard, the Spanish ambassador, was under no illusions respecting her. He wrote to Charles V. about this time: *elle sera odieuse, suspecte, dangereuse.*

had been brought up in almost monastic isolation, and had had no opportunity of learning any large or generous ideas. For years she had been subjected to all kinds of indignities, both serious and petty: denied the title of princess, separated from her mother, bullied into signing an unread paper which declared that she was a bastard, and at one time or another deprived of confidential servants and chaplains. She may even have been right in believing that, while Anne Boleyn was in power, neither her own life nor her mother's was safe. Anne Boleyn's daughter had been preferred to her. Jane Seymour's son had been preferred to both of them. She was old enough to be his mother, and he was fond of giving her instruction for the good of her soul; telling her that her loyalty to the Roman See was treason, and that her highest act of worship was idolatry. What marvel was it, if, with all her strong will and conscientiousness, she was a soured and narrow-minded woman, with a deep-seated prejudice against everything connected with the cause which had brought such misery and injustice to her mother and herself? Under happier auspices, and with a better husband, she *might* have got the better of this prejudice. Her marriage with Philip intensified the prejudice, and made it most prolific of evil. He was her own choice, but she had never seen him, and knew nothing of his true character. With the possible exception of our own King John, Philip II. of Spain is the

most detestable prince that ever reigned in a Christian country, and his influence over the Queen, whom he slighted, was disastrous.[1] Calvin called her Proserpine; she was fit to reign in hell. In Philip she had a worthy Pluto. Perhaps no husband could have made Mary a desirable sovereign for the English people. But her own bitterness and bigotry, joined with the calculating cruelty of Philip, did the nation one great service: it sickened them for all time of the religion and policy of Rome.

If anything in the future is morally certain, it is that England will never again accept the doctrines and jurisdiction of Rome; and we owe that result to the rule of Mary and Philip. Three Englishmen have shared the odium with these un-English rulers. But not justly. It was not the folly of Pole, nor the cleverness of Gardiner, nor the energy of Bonner, but the cruel fanaticism of Mary herself, that initiated and sustained the relentless persecution of those who dared to be true to their convictions.

While the effect of the enthusiasm with which she was welcomed was still fresh, while as yet she did not feel secure upon the throne, while the baneful Spanish influence was still somewhat

[1] Bishop Stubbs says of him that "he was his father over again, but without his good points and with his bad points exaggerated." And of Philip's adopting and persisting in the policy of exterminating Protestants he says, "If this is not politically folly, I do not know how such a thing can be said to exist at all" (*Lectures on European History*, pp. 193, 226).

in the background, Mary showed herself free from conspicuous vindictiveness and intolerance.[1] People whom she might have sent at once to execution she merely imprisoned, and she said that she "meant not to strain other men's consciences otherwise than God should (as she trusted) put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth."[2] But when this hopeful utterance appeared in a proclamation, it had the sinister qualification, "until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein." Hundreds of people fled to the Continent. It is to Cranmer's credit that he did not fly.[3]

Gardiner,[4] Bonner, Day, and Heath were restored

[1] She pardoned, or merely fined, most of those who had supported Northumberland in proclaiming Lady Jane Grey; and she was almost persuaded to pardon Northumberland himself, who made a piteous appeal for mercy. He declared himself a Romanist, and much was made of this. But he was executed 22nd August.

[2] Her cousin, Charles v., advised her to proceed with caution; and she allowed Cranmer to conduct the funeral of her brother at Westminster according to the English service, while she herself attended a requiem Mass, which was sung by Gardiner, in the chapel at the Tower. It was probably the debate as to which service should be used at Westminster which caused the funeral to be delayed till 6th August.

[3] He said that it would be in no ways fitting for him to go away, considering the post in which he was: he would show that he was not afraid to own all the changes that were by his means made in religion.

[4] "All the matters of the Church the Queen left wholly to the management of the Bishop of Winchester, whom she now advanced from a prisoner in the Tower to be lord high chancellor of England. And indeed the governance of the whole realm was committed to him, with a few other. He ruled matters as he

to the Sees of Winchester, London, Chichester, and Worcester, from which the Bishops appointed by Edward, Poynet, Ridley, Scory, and Hooper, were ejected. Poynet disappeared for a time,—Ridley and Hooper were imprisoned. Coverdale also was ejected from Exeter and put in prison, and the aged Voysey was restored, on the plea that he had been terrified into resigning under Edward. Till Parliament could pass a new Act, only the English Prayer-Book was legal; but Mary, of course, had the old services for her own use, and many of the clergy did not wait for the Act of Parliament, but reintroduced Roman services at once. Even in Canterbury Cathedral this was done;[1] it was said by Cranmer's order. This he indignantly denied, and he drew up a statement to show that the new Communion Office was in harmony with Scripture, and that the Mass had no primitive authority. This became widely circulated, and in September he was sent to the Tower. Mary went there herself at the end of the month, and she did not object to imitate Anne Boleyn in making the Tower the starting-point for her coronation pageants. She was crowned by Gardiner, 1st October, which was a Sunday.

Four days later (5th October), Parliament met. It was probably packed like its predecessors. It was certainly composed of very different persons

would, and that all England knew and saw plainly" (Strype, *Cranmer*, iii. chap. ii.).

[1] By Dr. Thornden, suffragan Bishop of Dover.

from the last. It was quite ready to go a long way in carrying out *one* of Mary's passionate desires, namely, the abolition of everything that had been done against the doctrines and ritual of Rome. A contemporary sarcastically remarked that the Parliament would, with equal alacrity, have established Mahometanism at the command of the Queen. All Edward's legislation about uniformity, the sacraments, and the marriage of priests was reversed; and those who had married were afterwards turned out of their livings. How many suffered under this law is very differently estimated. Some say *three* quarters; some say only *one* quarter. If the latter is nearer the truth, the results were severe enough. But Parliament refused to attach any penalty to non-attendance at Mass. Images and altars were, of course, set up again;[1] but the actual restoration of the countless statues and coloured windows that had been smashed, or of the frescoes that had been scraped and whitewashed, was, alas! impossible. Mary's two other passionate desires, the restoration of the country to the Roman obedience, and the proposed marriage with Philip of Spain, Parliament entirely refused to sanction. But while Parliament was sitting she privately settled the last point for herself. October 29, with Renard, the imperial ambassador, and Lady Clarence, one of

[1] As Ridley wrote to Grindal, who had fled to Strasburg: "To tell you much naughty matter in a few words, *Papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.*"

her own attendants, she said the *Veni Creator* before the Holy Sacrament, and then gave her royal word to the ambassador that she would marry the Emperor's son, Philip. A fortnight later, 13th November, Lady Jane Grey, her husband, his two brothers, and Cranmer pleaded guilty to high treason, and were sentenced to death. Parliament confirmed the attainders, and was dissolved 6th December.[1] With its retirement, what we may call the introductory part of the reign ends. The pivot on which everything now turns is the Spanish marriage.

At that crisis in the reign it is not easy to gauge national feelings and convictions with regard to the Reformation. The reform party was much stronger in London and the large towns than in the rural districts. Perhaps there were quite as many people who were keenly in favour of German or Swiss Protestantism as were keenly in favour of a return to Rome. But there is little doubt that the majority of the people were either indifferent, caring for nothing but peace and quietness, or else wished for the state of things which Henry VIII. had left, the old ritual and teaching without Roman supremacy.[2]

[1] The same day, a dead dog was thrown through the window of the presence chamber, with a rope round its neck, and a ticket, saying that all priests in England ought to be hanged.

[2] Antonio de Guaras, a Spanish merchant who lived in London for many years, and spoke English fluently, and who wrote a contemporary account of the accession of Queen Mary, estimates the Protestants as being about four per cent. of the population.

But there is no doubt at all as to what the bulk of the nation thought about the Spanish marriage.[1] It was abominable to them. Gardiner, the new Chancellor, opposed it as long as opposition was possible; but the Queen's strong will, backed by a section of the Council, carried the day; and the marriage treaty was signed 12th January 1554. A few days later the *Devonshire* men were once more up in arms. Sir James Crofts went off to head a rising in the *Western Marshes*, and the Duke of Suffolk (Lady Jane's father) to head another in the Midlands. All these three risings were failures. But that of *Sir Thomas Wyatt* in *Kent* became formidable. With a large following he reached London and attempted to dictate terms. The imperial ambassador was cowed, and was ready to abandon the marriage treaty. Not so the Queen. With royal courage she made an appeal in person, sceptre in hand, to the citizens of London, which even at the present day is stirring to read.[2] She had a man's voice, which on

Of course he means *avowed* Protestants; and perhaps we must allow something for the prejudices of a Romanist, who would wish to minimize Protestantism. See Dr. Garnett's edition, 1892.

[1] November 10, a deputation from the Commons, headed by the Speaker, waited on her and implored her not to marry a foreigner, but one of her own subjects. She replied that it was not usual for English Parliaments to dictate to the sovereign in such matters. She claimed to be as free as a private person to marry whom she pleased; and she would marry as God should direct her choice, to His honour and her country's good.

[2] "Did I think this marriage to the hurt of my subjects, never would I consent thereto. And if it appear not to my Parliament

ordinary occasions was unpleasing; but it was valuable when she spoke in public, which she could do with nerve and effect, as at this crisis. Next day 25,000 men were ready to defend her, and the rebellion was quelled.[1] It cost Lady Jane Grey and her husband their heads (12th February), and Suffolk was beheaded soon after (23rd February). Persons who were possible candidates for the Crown could not be allowed to live after such experiences. It was hoped that Wyatt would implicate Elizabeth; and she was sent to the Tower.

to be for the benefit of the realm, I promise you, on the word of a Queen, I will never marry. But, in fact, by the very answer of these rebels to my Council, it plainly appears that the marriage is the least part of their quarrel. They demand the governance of my person and the keeping of my town. My loving subjects, right well you know me as your Queen, to whom you have promised allegiance and obedience. What a mother doth feel for her children I know not; but if subjects may be loved as children by their mothers, even so, assure yourselves, do I, your Sovereign Queen and Lady, love and favour you. I cannot but think that you do love me in return; and so bound in accord we shall, I doubt not, give these rebels a speedy overthrow. Wherefore, good subjects, pluck up your hearts and stand by your Sovereign like true men, and fear not these rebels, for I assure you, I fear them not at all." This was spoken 1st Feb. 1554 in the Guildhall. Tennyson reproduces it with great felicity in his *Queen Mary*.

[1] In a letter to Bullinger, 24th February 1554, Peter Martyr writes from Strasburg that the Kentish rebels during their expedition "hung a large number of mass-priests." This statement seems to stand alone: neither Hollingshead, nor Stowe, nor Strype, nor Burnet appear to know of such outrages. See also the narrative of John Proctor, written within a year of the events, and printed January 1555. It is very favourable to Mary (Arber, *An English Garner*, vol. viii. p. 37; also vol. iv. pp. 88–93 and 112–142).

But on the scaffold he entirely exculpated her. He was beheaded 11th April. The Queen's blood was up, and she had no mercy. Wyatt surrendered on Ash Wednesday, 7th February; and from that day onwards hundreds were executed. In London, commissioners sat daily to transfer prisoners from the crowded jails to the gibbets. In all thoroughfares, says the French ambassador, "the eye was met by the hideous spectacle of hanging men."

Mary's second Parliament met 2nd April 1554. It sanctioned the Spanish marriage, with careful provision for the independence of the English Crown; but it refused to pass several Bills against heresy. The fateful wedding took place, 25th July, in Winchester Cathedral.[1]

Mary had now attained two of her three desires, —the cancelling of her brother's religious legislation, and the marriage with Philip. There remained the reconciliation with Rome. For this a third Parliament was summoned, and great pains were taken to get the right men, "of wise, grave, and Catholic sort." They voted the reversal of the attainder of Cardinal Pole, and a few days after-

[1] Philip was married four times: 1. with Mary of Portugal, mother of the unhappy Carlos; 2. with Mary of England; 3. with Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henry II.; 4. with his own niece, Anna Maria, daughter of Maximilian II. and mother of Philip III. Numerous Spanish ecclesiastics accompanied Philip II. to England "to scatter the darkness with which Lutheran and Calvinistic teachers had blinded the students" at Oxford and Cambridge; and they did not tend to make the union with Spain more popular.

wards he sailed up the Thames and landed as Papal Legate. Mary and Philip, with the Parliament, knelt at his feet in submission, as he solemnly absolved the nation; and the jurisdiction of the Pope was once more accepted.[1] The price which the Pope had to pay for this was that all secularized Church property was secured to the laymen who held them. Had the Pope stood out for the restoration of all Church lands, Parliament would never have readmitted his authority.[2] There were 40,000 families whose possessions were involved. Mary set the example of surrendering all that had been acquired by the Crown; but the example was not followed. When she was told that she was in debt and could not afford to lose £60,000 a year. "I value the peace of my conscience," she said, "more than ten such crowns as that of England." But the peace that she

[1] Pole is said to have addressed the Queen with the angelic salutation, "Hail, Mary, full of grace," etc. But the reconciliation of the English nation with Rome as effected by Mary and Pole was only on the surface. No serious attempt was made to secure either the intelligence or the affections of the people. The Protestant arguments were not answered; and enthusiasm, which was so common among the preachers of reform, was a very rare thing among their opponents. The printing press was a mighty instrument on the one side, and was comparatively little used by the other. In preaching the Protestants were far more powerful than the Romanists, and at the universities the most eminent professors belonged to that side. Brute force, when it stops short of extermination, can never gain a permanent victory over mind and character.

[2] Repingdon Abbey in Derbyshire was pulled down in Mary's reign to prevent the possibility of the monks being restored.

wanted was the birth of a son, and she hoped that the restoration of Church property would win this blessing for her.

The axe and the hangman's cord had cleared away all who had risen against Mary. The consort, who was more than her equal in bigotry and intolerance, was at her side; the country was once more under the jurisdiction of Rome, and in most of the Sees there were Bishops of the Queen's way of thinking. Mary was now free to deal with 'heresy' as she had already dealt with treason. And, as in the other case, she was relentless. She believed that it was her mission to bring back the whole of England to the old religion, and that the way to do so was to put to a cruel death those who refused to profess it. There is no need to repeat any portion of the horrible tale. Although, as compared with what was done by the Inquisition in Philip's own country, the persecution in England was trifling; yet what was done here was ghastly enough.[1] And it must not be forgotten that it was an exhibition of cruelty such as had never before been seen in England, and that it was emphatically Mary's work. Some Bishops were more ready to persecute than others; but when any of them became reluctant,

[1] "For the first and last time the true Ultramontane spirit was dominant in England, the genuine conviction that, as the orthodox prophets and sovereigns of Israel slew the worshippers of Baal, so were Catholic rulers called upon, as their first duty, to extirpate heretics as the enemies of God and man" (Froude, *History of England*, chap. xxxv.).

the Queen urged them on. How could she hope for a son and heir, if she spared the Amalekites? Was not moderation in religion the abominable sin of the Laodiceans?[1]

But do not believe quite all that you read in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. A great deal has come to light since J. H. Blunt wrote his far too favourable estimate of Foxe's work. Among more recent scholars there is perhaps no safer guide than Brewer. He knew the evidence thoroughly, and he knew in what spirit to judge it; and his estimate of Foxe is this: that, even if he had been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being trustworthy; and if he had been careful and critical, his dishonesty would have been equally fatal. That, perhaps, is a little too severe; but one must be cautious in reading the narrative of an advocate who marshals his evidence with a purpose. Yet that scores of people, perhaps nearly three hundred, suffered horrible deaths there is little doubt.[2]

[1] But Dr. Stubbs thinks that "all the executions for religious causes in England, by all sides and during all time, are not so many as were the sentences of death passed in one year of the reign of George III. for the forging of bank notes."

[2] On some of the special characteristics of 'The Marian Persecution' see an article on it in the *Church Quarterly Review* of April 1891. The utter illegality of its early stages is well pointed out. At a time when the Latin Mass was still illegal, clergy who refused to adopt it were imprisoned on the sole authority of the Queen's supremacy.

It is worth remembering that only during the short reign of Mary were Roman Service-books commonly used in England.

There is something unspeakably tragic about Mary's career. In some things it reminds us of Marcus Aurelius persecuting the Christians. In both cases you have a very conscientious ruler torturing and slaying those who were equally conscientious. And if we think the comparison incorrect, because Marcus Aurelius was a large-minded philosopher, while Mary was a narrow-minded bigot; yet, on the other hand, the Emperor was a heathen, and the Queen was, in her way, a devout Christian.[1] But there are other tragic elements besides this. Her policy was a failure, and (short as her career was) she lived to see that it was a failure; yet, instead of changing it, she attributed the failure to want of thoroughness, and persecuted more madly than before. That surely is tragic. She fought like a tigress for the alliance with Spain and the right to marry Philip; not merely because she was at heart a Spaniard, and because she was passionately attached to the unknown prince to whom she attributed fairy-tale virtues;[2] but also because she believed that this

Before the Reformation, English Service-books were used—generally the Use of Sarum.

[1] Godwin says that she was "pious, merciful, pure, and ever to be praised, if we overlook her erroneous opinions in religion." Camden counts her as "a queen never praised enough for the purity of her morals, her charity to the poor, and her liberality to the nobles and the clergy."

[2] "The unhappy Queen, unloved, unlovable, yet with her parched heart thirsting for affection, was flinging herself upon a breast to which an iceberg was warm; upon a man to whom love was an unmeaning word, except as the most brutal of passions.

alliance and marriage would be the surest guarantee for the permanent reunion of England with Rome. And what happened? Philip, already King of Naples, became King of Spain. As such he made war upon France, and dragged England into this war. Rome took the side of France, and thus England was at war with Rome. Mary waded through the blood of her subjects in order to bring about and cement a reunion with the Papacy; and at the end of it, the very policy which she had followed so remorselessly, involved her in a war with the Pope. It only needed the loss of Calais, and of the last foot of soil that England had ever possessed on the Continent, to make the bitter tragedy complete.[1] Mary began her reign in weak health. Excitement, resentment, the coldness of her husband, who scarcely pretended to care for her, and the disappointment of all her hopes, killed her by inches. She died Thursday, 17th November 1558. Her new Primate, Pole, died the same day, or early on the next.[2]

For a few months she created for herself an atmosphere of unreality. She saw in Philip the ideal of her imagination, and in Philip's feelings the reflex of her own; but the dream passed away—her love for her husband remained; but remained only to be a torture to her. With a broken spirit and bewildered understanding, she turned to Heaven for comfort; and instead of Heaven she saw only the false roof of her creed painted to imitate and shut out the sky" (Froude, *History of England*, chap. xxxi.).

[1] Tennyson said that "throughout all history there was nothing more mournful than the final tragedy of this woman"; and his study of her is admirable both in its pathos and in its truth.

[2] That Pole "died on the same day with Mary, whose battle he

Both Edward VI. and Mary died at a time that was fortunate for themselves, and fortunate for the Church and nation. Had they lived longer, each would have witnessed things that would have been most distressing to them, and the English people would have had to endure, both in religion and politics, additional sufferings without much additional advantage. Like the changes in the direction of Protestantism made under Edward, the reaction under Mary had gone far too fast. In both cases the majority of the people had acquiesced rather than been convinced or satisfied; and in both cases the incompetence and fanaticism of the rulers who enforced the changes rapidly disgusted those who in the first instance were disposed to welcome, or at least tolerate them. During both reigns the misgovernment of the kingdom and the mismanagement of foreign affairs exasperated and humiliated the nation. Under Edward, the rapacity and senseless iconoclasm of self-styled reformers sickened people of a Protestantism that had no respect for the past. Under Mary, the subservience of the Government to foreign influences, and the consequent cruel persecutions, sickened people of a Catholicism which trampled on every principle of English independence, and every principle of Christian charity. While the State was sacrificed to a foreign King, the Church was sacrificed to a foreign Bishop.

had been fighting all along, was a coincidence that might be considered natural. Both might well have been heartbroken at the discredit thrown upon their zeal" (J. Gairdner).

That was an intolerable thought for Englishmen.[1] And perhaps nothing so roused them to do away with this foreign influence as the merciless methods with which Mary hoped to establish it. Everywhere the spectators sympathized with the men and women who were burned, and wondered whether any sound arguments could be urged in favour of a religion which relied upon torture and death to effect conviction.[2] And Mary's policy of sending heretics to be burned in the places where they had lived, in order to make the executions impressive, did indeed make them impressive, but in the direction exactly opposite to that which Mary desired. As a lady wrote to Bonner, "Within a twelvemonth you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand rank Papists." The estimate is probably well within the truth.

In no other country did persecution make such an impression on the people, or leave behind it such a deep-seated hatred of Popery. Mary's failure in her four years, was as complete as Philip's in his long reign of forty years. And in both cases the cause of failure was the same,—a most cruel

[1] "No English sovereign ever ascended the throne with larger popularity than Mary Tudor. The country was eager to atone to her for her mother's injuries. . . . She had reigned little more than five years, and she descended into the grave amidst curses deeper than the acclamations which had welcomed her accession" (Froude, *History of England*, chap. xxxv.).

[2] But it is a remarkable illustration of the submissiveness of the people to the self-will of Tudor sovereigns, that in no case did the sympathizing crowd rescue the martyrs from the stake.

attempt to force Roman Catholicism upon subjects who disbelieved and detested it.[1]

It remains to say a few words about Mary's two chief agents, and her principal victim, in the work of persecution,—*Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Cranmer*.

In a speech on the Public Worship Bill, Sir William Harcourt made use of the expression "the black and bloody Gardiner." Gardiner and Bonner are so frequently coupled together, and since Foxe spoke of Bonner as "that bloody bite-sheep," it has been so customary to call Bonner "bloody," that it is likely enough that in some minds the epithet is supposed to be equally applicable to both of these Bishops. It is highly unjust to bestow it upon Gardiner, although Shakespeare (or Fletcher, if he wrote Act v. Scene 3) makes Henry VIII. say to him, "Thou hast a cruel nature, and a bloody." Under Henry VIII. he gave official consent to the Six Articles Act, as did Cranmer. It was a barbarous Act; but in that age barbarity was the rule, and perhaps the King expected that the severity of the Act would frighten everyone into compliance. During the eight years in which it was in operation, Foxe can mention only twenty-eight persons who suffered under it; and of the first four who were condemned to death, Gardiner begged off one. When about two hundred people were brought before him for interrupting Divine service, he made them go

[1] Charles v. had been monstrous as a persecutor, and Philip was a much worse man than his father.

bail for one another's good behaviour, and let them go. During nearly the whole of Edward's reign he was in prison for rejecting the Injunctions. When Mary released him and made him Chancellor, 23rd August 1553, he was her chief Minister for more than a year before the persecuting laws were revived in December 1554.[1] In reviving them he took part; but within ten months of the burning of Rogers, 4th February 1555, who was the first to suffer, Gardiner died; and after his death the persecution became more fierce. At the trial of Rogers he stated that "the Queen went before them in those counsels, which proceeded of her own proper motion." His own diocese of Winchester was one of the nine in which there was no execution for heresy. He was a true Englishman, and disliked the Spaniards and all their ways. Under Henry VIII. he had been eager for the abolition of the Pope's supremacy, as his *De vera Obedientia* shows. He may have liked coercion in religion; but he was there to administer the law. And when persons avowed that they defied the law and refused to submit, he had no choice but to let the law take its course. The chief blot on his character is his bearing towards Elizabeth.

There is a little more reason for calling Bonner "bloody." But Fuller's charge against him of

[1] "Gardiner assures us, and we may believe him in this, that it was not he who prompted the revival of the old laws against the Lollards; on the contrary, the chief impulse to it came from the Queen" (Ranke, *History of England*, vol. i. p. 209).

burning about half the martyrs who suffered in the persecution is most misleading. The hundred and twenty or hundred and thirty who were burned in London were not, as a rule, people from the diocese of London, who were prosecuted by Bonner as their diocesan. They were sent up to London from all parts of the kingdom. He often took a great deal of trouble to save them from execution.[1] He detained them sometimes for weeks, or even months, trying to get them to change their minds; and sometimes kept them, not in prison, but in his own palace at Fulham, for this purpose. He had Tomkins, a poor weaver, there for six or seven months. Such are not the acts of one who delights in cruelty and bloodshed. Nor were his antecedents of that kind either. Bonner, Cranmer, and Gardiner had been students together at Cambridge. There Cranmer had been known as "Silent Tom," and Bonner as "the noisy boy." Bonner and Roger Ascham had the reputation of being about the best story-tellers in England.[2]

[1] "The character of Bonner, stained by obloquy, will have been discerned by the reader not to have been the worst that could be. He was a man of resolution, who, having undertaken what he held to be a duty, neither shrunk from executing it, like some, nor feigned to execute it, like others. He avoided no personal inconvenience in discharging it: and although he would not allow of evasion or subterfuge, yet otherwise he showed himself not only not unkind, but long-suffering, considerate, and generous" (R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. iv. p. 709).

[2] A number of Bonner's sharp repartees are preserved by Harrington in his *Brief View of the State of the Church of England*,

A just estimate of Cranmer is not easy to reach. To say that he deserves neither all the praise nor all the blame which he has received, does not carry us very far. He was placed in a very responsible position in a period of exceptional difficulty. But his second marriage proves that he had no thought of seeking such a position; and when it was forced upon him, he was not equal to it. He had not the moral courage which was required for dealing with such sovereigns as the Tudors. Again and again he declares for what is right, and then, when pressure is put upon him, he gives way. We see him at his worst when he consents to carry out Henry's wishes with regard to his various wives, and when, in violation of his oath to Henry, he consents to Edward's wish, that the Roman Catholic Princess Mary should be set aside for the Protestant Lady Jane Grey. And we see him at his best

"which show that he was a man of lively and caustic humour, rather than the cold-blooded monster he is commonly supposed to have been" (J. Gairdner in *DNB*). Jewel, writing to Peter Martyr from Salisbury, 1st June 1560, says that when Bonner was sent back to the Marshalsea Prison in 1559, "being a most courteous man and gentlemanly in his manners and appearance, he politely saluted the prisoners who were present, and addressed them as his friends and companions." He got a very rough answer from one of them as having "murdered vast numbers of holy men," and with this Jewel seems to sympathize; which makes his testimony to Bonner's courtesy all the stronger. Bonner died in the Marshalsea Prison, 5th September 1569. Foxe, of course, abuses him, coupling him as a chief persecutor with Dunning, Archdeacon of Norwich, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury. It is to Harpsfield that we owe the story of Cranmer's wife being carried about in a box.

when he is reforming the formularies of the Church, and striving for unity among those who had separated from Rome. In employing the English language for purposes of devotion, he had a skill which amounts to genius; and the spirit which breathes through the Articles is admirable. As the product of an age of bitter controversy, the Prayer-Book and Articles are marvellous. In them the perplexed Churchman could find then, and perhaps may find still, the maximum of guidance and the minimum of restraint. For Cranmer's share in the production of them we owe him deep gratitude.[1]

As to the recantations into which he was so craftily enticed, we forget them in the real fortitude of the last few hours of that wet March morning in Oxford. He *ran* to the stake, to confirm his final testimony with his death. He had been made to grind in the prison-house; but in his manner of dying he dealt a heavy blow to the building in which those who had tormented him had elected to stand.

[1] As Canon Dixon says, "His merits of services were greater than his faults. He preserved the continuity of the Church of England. He gave to the English Reformation largeness and capacity" (*History of the Church of England*, iv. p. 551). To show his regard for the Primate, Henry made Cranmer change the family arms, which were three cranes, and assume instead three pelicans, to remind him that "he ought to be ready to shed his blood for his young ones brought up in the faith of Christ." The King can hardly have supposed that Cranmer would ever be called upon to give his life for his creed, which makes the prophetic incident all the more remarkable (Strype, *Cranmer*, i. chap. xxviii.).

IV.

1558–1575.

THE EVOLUTION OF A SETTLEMENT UNDER ELIZABETH.

"Many points weather'd, many perilous ones,
At last a harbour opens; but therein
Sunk rocks—they need fine steering—much it is
To be nor mad nor bigot,—have a mind—
Nor let Priests talk, or dream of worlds to be."

TENNYSON, *Queen Mary*, Act v. Scene v.

IV.

1558–1575.

THE EVOLUTION OF A SETTLEMENT UNDER ELIZABETH.

If the acclamations with which Mary was welcomed in London after the death of Edward VI. were a strong condemnation of the policy which prevailed during the reign of her brother, still greater was the condemnation of her own policy that was manifested as soon as it was known that she had passed away. At once bonfires were lit in the streets, decorations and banquets were prepared, and everywhere the shout went up, "God save Queen Elizabeth."[1] Not because it was

[1] There is the touching story of Edward Burton of Longnor, an old man who had often had to hide on account of his devotion to the Reformation. The report of Mary's illness had reached him at his home near Shrewsbury. One morning he heard the bells of St. Chad's ringing joyously, and he thought that this might mean the accession of Elizabeth. His son rode off to learn the news, and it was agreed that he should wave a handkerchief when he came in sight, if the guess was true. The handkerchief was waved, and the old man, overjoyed, went into the house, lay down, and died. He was buried in the garden, because it was not yet lawful to bury a heretic in the churchyard.

known that she was a Protestant, but rather in spite of that fact. It was still only a minority in the nation that was inclined to Protestantism. What caused the outburst of joy was the conviction that the reign of terror had ceased, and that an end would now be put to foreign domination in Church and State. People had had more than enough of Papalism, and more than enough of Spanish influence. But that did not mean that they wanted Lutheranism or Calvinism. What, on the whole, they wanted, was to go back, over the reigns of Mary and of Edward, to what Henry VIII. had left them, the old doctrines and ceremonies, without the tyranny of Rome.

On the whole, also, this was what the Queen wished.[1] She was by no means enamoured of the kind of Protestantism to which Somerset and Northumberland had reduced the Church of England; and, what perhaps influenced her still more, she knew that such a form of religion would not satisfy the majority of her subjects. The majority wanted very little change: they chiefly wanted to be rid of Roman interference. To them most of the old doctrines were still credible. The lives of those who are healthy in body are regulated by habit rather than by reason. So also the beliefs of many that are healthy in mind. Reasonable people often retain convictions after logic or ex-

[1] On the first Sunday of her reign, 20th November, her chaplain, W. Hill, preached at St. Paul's Cross, and tried to moderate popular feeling against Romanists.

perience has destroyed the foundation on which they rested. But there was a minority which saw that some changes were required; and to this party Elizabeth herself belonged. And there was another minority which thought that a very great deal of change was necessary,—far more than had been introduced under Edward VI. What Elizabeth was anxious to avoid was, allowing these differences of opinion to go still deeper. If possible, tendencies must not become parties, and, above all, parties must not develop into factions. What she specially dreaded was a divided nation, different sections of which would be intriguing with different Powers on the Continent, one with Germany, another with Geneva, and a third with Spain and Rome.[1]

The position of Elizabeth was not only extraordinarily difficult, it was also pathetically lonely. The Tudor family had steadily dwindled, and now she was left almost the last representative of it. What added to the pathos of her loneliness was the fact that her nearest relation was also her nearest danger. Mary of Scots, so far from being a solace or support to her, was a dreaded rival, and a claimant to her throne. The last of her father's

[1] The difficulties of her position are tersely estimated in one of the domestic MSS. of the time. "The Queen poor; the realm exhausted; the nobility poor and decayed; good captains and soldiers wanting; the people out of order; justice not executed; all things dear; excesses in meat, diet, and apparel; division among ourselves; war with France; the French King bestriding the realm; having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland; steadfast enemies, but no steadfast friends."

children, Elizabeth was called upon, without the support of brother or sister or uncle or husband, at the age of twenty-five, to face tremendous risks both at home and abroad; risks which threatened not only her possession of the kingdom, but the independence of the kingdom itself. Only too possibly she might lose her liberty or her life, and England might pass into the power of either France or Spain. And as yet she could not rely upon the goodwill of by any means all her subjects. That many were disaffected she knew; but no one knew how many were thus disposed, nor to what lengths their disaffection extended. The devotion of her Ministers was still untried; and for the moment she had little but her own courage and judgment and energy to rely upon. Not often in history has responsibility so heavy fallen upon so young a woman.

As soon as Mary was dead, religious influences, other than that of Rome, began to pass with increasing volume from the Continent to England. At the very beginning of Mary's reign, large numbers of persons, to whom her religion was an abomination, or her intolerance a terror, had left England for the Continent. In not a few cases she had encouraged them or forced them to go. This was partly the moderation which marked the first few weeks of her reign: she gave them the chance of escaping from worse penalties. Partly it was self-interested policy: these people might give her a great deal of trouble, and she was glad

to be rid of them. Partly it was the beginning of her intolerance: people who did not hold what she believed to be the truth, must be sent, if not out of the world, at any rate out of the kingdom. Some of these were foreigners, who had come, either by Cranmer's invitation, to help in drawing up a reformed confession of faith, such as all who dissented from Roman doctrine could accept, or spontaneously, in order to propagate opinions of their own. Cranmer's sad experience of such people was that, instead of promoting harmony between English and foreign reformers, they sowed the seeds of dissension among the English reformers. Among these were Peter Martyr, Vallérand Poullain, John à Lasco, with his Dutch and German followers, Somerset's colony of Flemings at Glastonbury, and the colony of French Protestants in London. All these returned to the Continent soon after Mary's accession. With them went a large number of Englishmen, who did not venture to remain in England under such a Queen. Among these were five dispossessed Bishops—Coverdale of Exeter, Barlow, Bale, Poynet, and Scory; five Deans—Haddon of Exeter, Cox, Horne, Sampson, and Turner; and a number of well-known theologians—Grindal, Jewel, Knox, Nowel, Sandys, and many others. In all, it is estimated that about eight hundred persons fled from England.[1] As no

[1] Burnet says that upwards of a thousand took refuge on the Continent. Strype, in his *Life of Cranmer*, gives a good many names. Bullinger was active in giving hospitality to the exiles,

Protestants were now safe in France, they could not go to that country. The German Lutherans were not inclined to be hospitable. Coverdale went to Denmark. Haddon went with Poynet and others to Strasburg. But the majority went to French or Swiss Protestants at Frankfort, or Zurich, or Geneva. These gave them a sympathetic welcome. Consequently the influences to which they were subjected during their exile on the Continent were chiefly those of Calvin and Zwingli. This was a momentous fact. When these exiles returned to England under Elizabeth, it was the extreme doctrines of French and Swiss Protestants that they brought back with them; and for many generations the Church of England had a hard struggle to hold her own, not only against her previous opponents, the champions of Roman doctrine and ritual, but also against the new perils of Presbyterianism and Puritanism.[1] This new danger, to which the reign of Edward VI. had opened the doors, requires consideration.

Simplification is the keynote of the Reformation. Not only creeds and services, but man's relation to

as also were Gesner, Gualter, Lavater, Simler, Weidner, and others. The magistrates offered maintenance to some; but it was gratefully declined.

[1] John White, Bishop of Winchester, preached at the funeral of Queen Mary in Westminster Abbey, 13th December 1558, and denounced the Protestant exiles in strong language, expressing great fears as to the mischief which would attend their return. His quotation of "a living dog is better than a dead lion" was supposed to be an ungracious reference to Elizabeth.

his Creator and Judge, must be put upon a simpler footing. The difficult question to determine was, How far was the simplification to be allowed, or required, to go?

The mediæval Church fell in England and elsewhere, because, through its endeavours to cocker men's souls it lost its influence over their lives. It elaborated expedients for dealing with weak consciences; and the expedients were often so ill-chosen, or so misapplied, that they made weak consciences still weaker. All sense of personal responsibility, and all power of judging moral questions for oneself, was in danger of being lost. Independent minds could not tolerate this. Evidently some serious reform was wanted; and when reform was refused, men said, If we cannot have reform with Rome, we must have it without her. Granted; but once more arises the question, How far is the reform to go? In the main there were two answers to this question. 1. Let us get rid of everything which is repugnant to the plain teaching of Scripture, and let us keep the rest. This remainder is a vast fabric, which is partly taken from Scripture, partly the outcome of centuries of human experience. That which saints and sages, doctors and schoolmen, have "with strong brains and devout hearts" built up age after age for the edification of Christendom, ought not lightly to be thrown aside. Only what cannot be reconciled with God's Word need be discarded.—This, on the whole, was the answer of Cranmer and of the more sober among the English

reformers. 2. The other answer is this. Let us get rid of everything which is not expressly sanctioned by Scripture. What is Biblical is sound. That we may, and must retain. What is not Biblical is doubtful, or worse. Let it go.—This, on the whole, is the answer of Calvin and the Swiss Protestants. This is the extreme Puritan position. The Church, Church tradition, and Church ceremonial are all wiped out. Everything is brought down to its lowest terms, namely, the one simple relation between God and the conscience of the individual, with the Bible as the means of communication between the two.

Puritanism, whether one admires it or revolts from it, is a form of thought and religion which will always exist. Like the Stoicism and the Monasticism which preceded it, it springs from aspirations which are part of human nature and cannot be banished. They may take different forms, but they defy extinction. On the other hand, when *they* try to exterminate or stifle other yearnings which are equally natural, they are never successful for very long. It is impossible permanently to settle Stoicism, or Monasticism, or Puritanism on mankind. Ascetic views of life, rigorous simplicity and coldness of ritual, cast-iron morality, cast-iron dogma, will always prove attractive to some minds, who may, at this or that crisis, become a dominant majority, enforcing their predilections upon the whole community. But the reaction and the Nemesis invariably follow, and the reign of gloom

and rigour is succeeded by a period of recklessness and excess.[1]

The English exiles both in Zurich and in Frankfort had much discussion as to the form of service to be used. Some were for maintaining the English Prayer-Book, which others thought much too Romish. The advice of Calvin was asked. He contemptuously replied that the Book contained many "sillinesses which one might put up with" (*tolerabiles ineptiæ*), and that one must not be angry with people who were not strong enough to endure anything higher. In short, in these colonies of exiles, especially at Frankfort, there were anticipations of the parties which afterwards developed into Anglican, and Independent, and Presbyterian, and Puritan. They were, as a rule, eager for drastic

[1] It is worth noting that the fierce contest which raged about the use of the surplice and other externals was peculiarly English. Englishmen are very apt to begin with the outside of things, and sometimes to end there also. Nowhere on the Continent was there a split in the reforming party on such matters of detail. In vain it was pointed out that Peter Martyr and Bucer had not objected to the surplice or the square cap. In vain Bullinger advised the English rigorists to conform and not risk the surrender of parishes to men who were Romanists at heart. Numbers of the Puritans refused to wear what they regarded as popish, idolatrous, and even diabolical. Others were more reasonable: "We gave them up, not as being impure and papistical, which certain of our brethren often charged them with being; but whereas they were in their own nature indifferent, and either ordained or allowed by godly fathers for the edification of the people, we notwithstanding chose rather to lay them aside, than offend the minds or alienate the affections of the brethren" (Cox, Bacon, Sandys, Grindal, and others to Calvin, from Frankfort, 5th April 1555).

changes, urging the Queen to make no terms with Satan, but to consider herself as a Deborah or a Judith, called by God to deliver the true Israel from an idolatrous foe (*Zurich Letters*, 1558, 1559). Prolific germs of all these returned to England to trouble the rulers of Church and State during the long reign of Elizabeth. Consummate prudence would be needed if England was to be kept free from civil strife, and from collision with the foreign Powers which had been friendly or unfriendly to Mary. Elizabeth had no security that the Powers, such as France, which had been hostile to her sister, would be friendly to her ; while she had every reason to expect that Powers, such as Spain, which had been friendly to Mary, would be hostile to her.[1] But prudence and tact were exactly what Elizabeth, with all her wilfulness, possessed in a very high degree.

Philip of Spain, however, who had seen Elizabeth when he was in England, and knew how much

[1] "The relations of Spain and England during the two long reigns are extremely complicated and tedious. Both Elizabeth and Philip were anxious throughout to avoid open war. Anything like personal or national friendship was impossible. The English hated the Spaniards as persecutors, and the Spaniards hated the English as heretics : nor is there any reason to believe that Elizabeth and Philip personally were exempt from the feelings with which their subjects respectively regarded each other. Yet both hated the French ; and, as the French were nearer to both than either was to the other, it was by their relations to France that their public conduct, their political attitude, their alliances, war and peace, had to be guided" (Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*, p. 222).

more attractive she was than his unhappy wife, offered to marry Elizabeth. This dazzling proposal she refused for two reasons: (1) the marriage would have been most unpopular in England; (2) it would require a papal dispensation, and Elizabeth could not sue to the Pope for anything. Whereupon the Spanish ambassador, De Feria, said that she was "possessed of a hundred thousand devils." But she kept on good terms with Philip. Each wanted the other's help against Mary of Scots, who, with the help of France, might easily become troublesome; and, after the revolt in the Netherlands, Philip was very anxious that Elizabeth should not send help to the rebels: he himself sent none to the rebels against Elizabeth in Ireland. Until the discovery of the Spanish ambassador's complicity in Throgmorton's plot, 1584, Philip continued to be represented at the English Court. Moreover, Elizabeth bought off the hostility of France by ceding all claim to Calais, except the right to buy it back at the end of eight years. This was in April 1559; and Elizabeth, at peace with Spain and France, was free to deal with home difficulties, which were chiefly those of religion, As in the three previous reigns, a strange mixture of religion and politics continues. Many political questions had a religious aspect, and nearly all religious questions had a political aspect. The same offence might be either heresy or treason.

She gave no encouragement to the lawless people who at once reintroduced the English service

and began pulling down images and altars. She issued a proclamation against this; also, for the present, against preaching, to avoid controversial and fanatical discussion (Gee and Hardy, p. 416). The Mass was still the law of the land, and Elizabeth went to Mass. She desired that the elements should not be elevated for adoration; and until Parliament should decide what was to be done, she allowed the Epistle, the Gospel, and Commandments, the Litany, Lord's Prayer, and Creed to be said in English.[1] Possibly she herself would have been content with this. Her religious convictions are matter of conjecture; but they were probably nearer to Rome than to Geneva. She liked magnificence in religion, and did not sympathize with her brother's abandonment of external ornament and rigid definition of eucharistic doctrine. But she had to consider the wishes of others.

Parliament had met 25th January 1559. It at once dealt with religious questions. The revenues which Mary had given back to the Church were again assigned to the Crown. The title of 'Supreme Head of the Church' was again given to the sovereign; but Elizabeth declined it as likely to offend her Roman Catholic subjects, and preferred that the Queen should be "the only

[1] It was alarm at these introductions of English in the service that moved Archbishop Heath of York to refuse to take his proper part at the coronation of Elizabeth; and the crown was placed on her head by Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, 15th January.

supreme governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." [1] Commissioners were appointed to revise the Prayer-Book. Among these were Grindal, Pilkington, and Sandys, who had been exiled under Mary, and others who were equally in favour of drastic changes. The Queen let them know, through her Minister, Sir William Cecil, that she would like the Second Prayer-Book to be made more like the First, and less likely to offend the lovers of the old order. The revisers, however, preferred the Second Book, and seem to have made only three changes in it, — additional Sunday Lessons, an amended Litany, and the union of the words addressed to communicants in the First Book with the words in the Second Book. The Service Book was ordered by Parliament to be used in all churches. A new Act of Uniformity was passed, making all other services illegal; and so unanimous was Parliament on the subject, that the Act passed its three readings in three days, 26th, 27th, and 28th April. But at the close of the Act was a clause, which did make something else legal. "Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained, and be used, as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI., until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty." It is thought that this import-

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 442

ant addition to the Act was made at the Queen's desire, and that, being in a provisional form, it was allowed to stand. Copies of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book are very rare; but none of them corresponds with the description of the Book given in the Act. In particular, the proviso appears in the form of two initial rubrics, which take the place of two very different rubrics in Edward's Book;[1] and there are several changes in the prayers besides those named in the Act. Apparently Elizabeth wished to have a door left open for the reintroduction of more of the old ceremonial than either of Edward's Books preserved. This appears from the Latin Prayer-Book, which Dr. Walter Haddon (the lawyer, brother of the exiled

[1] In a unique copy in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the rubric runs thus: "And here it is to be noted that the Minister at the time of the cõmunion and at all other tymes in his ministracion shall use such ornamentes in the church as wer in use by aucthoritie of parliament in the second yere of the reygne of King Edward the VI. according to the acte of parliament set in the beginning of thys booke." This copy has the actual signatures on a blank page between the office for Holy Communion and the office for Public Baptism. The *Zurich Letters* teem with questions about ceremonial and clerical dress. Extreme fanatics were very numerous. Humphrey and Sampson write to Bullinger, July 1566, that "ceremonies and sacerdotal habits are marked with the divine anathema and detested by all godly persons." Others were more reasonable. Bishop Cox of Ely writes to Gualter, "The surplice was used in the Church of Christ long before the introduction of popery. These things are proposed by us as having been sanctioned by the laws, that order and decency may be preserved in the ministry of the word and sacraments. And neither good pastors nor pious laymen are offended at these things" (*Letters*, 71 and 94).

Dean of Exeter), using the translation of Aless as his basis, prepared by her direction; for it contains many things which the English Book does not contain. It was well received by some of the more sober reformers on the Continent. The Queen authorized the Latin Book by letters-patent in 1560, perhaps with the wish to give authority to the additional matter for all who cared to use it; while those who preferred the English Book were not required to add anything to it. In 1561 she directed that the Commandments should be set up at the east end of churches, as a "comely ornament, and demonstration that the same is a place of religion."

The English Prayer-Book for a second time displaced the Latin Service-books on St. John Baptist's Day 1559:

> "S. John Baptist's Day
> Put the Pope away."

When the Book first came into use in 1549, it had provoked a rebellion. Now, so far from provoking anything more serious than protests, it was adopted in some places even before the appointed day. This was a mortification, not only to the friends of Rome, but to not a few of the returned exiles, who thought that the English Book was a great deal too Popish; and in later years these malcontents were much blamed by their own party for not having stood out from the first for a great deal more revision. But the reforming leaders who

had come back to England were for the most part men like Grindal, Jewel, and Pilkington, who had stood up for the English Prayer-Book at Frankfort against the more extreme party.[1] They could not well denounce at home what they had defended in exile. Indeed, Jewel and Pilkington were willing to serve on commissions to visit the clergy and see that the provisions of the Prayer-Book were carried out.

But, as a rule, the laity were more ready to have the English Book than the clergy were to obey it, although the large majority of the clergy did conform, at least to the extent of accepting the Book, whether or no they were loyal to its directions. And it is humiliating to note that dishonest advice was given to clergy by leaders both on the Puritan and on the Roman side. Peter Martyr advised the reforming clergy to preach their own views, but abstain from administering the sacraments until the 'intolerable blemishes' in the services for administering them were removed. On the other hand, the Pope, a little later, was willing that the English clergy should accept the Act of Uniformity and take the oath to Elizabeth, provided they were ready, when

[1] "We retain the remainder of the form of prayer and of the administration of the sacraments, which is prescribed in our Book, and this with the consent of almost the whole Church, the judgment of which in matters of this sort we did not think should be disregarded" (Cox, Whitehead, Alvey, Becon, Sandys, Grindal, Bale, Horne, Lever, and Sampson to Calvin, from Frankfort, 5th April 1555).

the opportunity occurred, to submit again to the Roman See.[1] Some clergy resigned; some were deprived for refusing to take the oath, and some for refusing to accept the Book. Exact numbers cannot be ascertained; but out of 9000 or 10,000 clergy, all but 250, or less, accepted the new order of things. But in London the lack of clergy for a time was so great that each incumbent had to serve several churches.[2] At that time there were twenty-six Bishops in England and Wales. Of these, only sixteen were asked to take the oath; for six were dead when Elizabeth succeeded, and four more died within six weeks. Of the sixteen, no less than fifteen were deprived: only one, Kitchin of Llandaff, submitted. The persecutions which had taken place in their dioceses—often against their wishes—had greatly discredited the Bishops with the people, and it was probably best that they should retire. Elizabeth's rude treatment of Bishops throughout her reign was perhaps partly due to their reception of her at her accession. The ejected Bishops were gently treated by the Government, so long as they abstained from giving

[1] Not only so, but anyone who would make away with the Queen was promised remission of sin to them and their heirs, with annuities, honours, and promotions; while the curse of God and of His Vicar was threatened to all who failed to support the claim of the Queen of Scots to the English throne.

[2] T. Lever writes to Bullinger from Coventry, 10th June 1560, that many parishes have no clergyman, and that out of the very few who administer the sacrament scarcely one in a hundred is both able and willing to preach the Word of God (*Zurich Letters*, 35, p. 85).

trouble:[1] and it is to their credit that none of them tried to perpetuate a schism by consecrating new Bishops or ordaining clergy of their own way of thinking. Five died within a few months of their deprivation; among these was Tunstal of Durham, who had lived under all the Tudors.

Elizabeth began to fill the vacant Sees.[2] Matthew Parker was as unwilling to accept the Primacy as Cranmer had been; and the Queen was as determined as her father had been that the royal will must prevail. Parker was consecrated 17th December 1559, by Barlow, Hodgkins, Coverdale, and Scory,[3] the first English Archbishop who was consecrated without the pall from Rome. This implied that the pall was not necessary, and it was an assertion of the independence of the English Church.

I am not going to humiliate my hearers by a discussion of either the 'Nag's Head' fable or the question whether Barlow, who consecrated Parker, had ever been consecrated himself. Even Roman controversialists are beginning to see that to profess to believe the 'Nag's Head' invention is

[1] Bishop Cox wrote to Peter Martyr, 5th August 1562, "The heads of our popish clergy are still kept in confinement. They are treated with kindness, but relax nothing of their popery. Others are living at large, but without any function" (*Zurich Letters*, 49, p. 113).

[2] With "ministers of Lucifer," as De Feria, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to Philip.

[3] Of these, Barlow and Hodgkins had been consecrated with the Roman Pontifical, Coverdale and Scory with the English Ordinal.

shameful,[1] and that to dispute the consecration of Barlow is useless. Their objections to Anglican Orders have been shifted to grounds which, if not more tenable, are less discreditable to those who urge them. As Dante says:

"Let us not speak of them, but look, and pass."[2]

It may seem to be a paradox, but it is a paradox with much truth in it, to say that, in the difficult and prolonged crisis which followed upon the filling of the English Bishoprics, it was the non-religious, rather than the religious men in the kingdom, who saved the Church of England from shipwreck, and gave it those characteristics of compromise, comprehension, and common sense which have been among its chief glories since it freed itself from the trammels of Rome. The religious men were for the most part either Romanist or Puritan. And in each case some were outside and some inside the reformed English Church.

There were Romanists and Puritans who made no pretence of accepting recent changes. And there were men who had conformed, but remained at heart either Romanist or Puritan. By no means all these were fanatics who cared for nothing but the triumph of their own views. There were plenty who, with all their prejudices, cared for the independence and greatness of the nation far more

[1] Lingard condemns it (*History of England*, vi. pp. 528, 529).
[2] *Inf.* iii. 51.

than they cared for any doctrine or ritual, much as they might care for the latter. But besides all these, there was a far larger number of Englishmen who were quite willing that the Queen and her Government should settle all religious questions for them, so long as peace and prosperity were secured. These men were not necessarily *ir*-religious; still less were they *anti*-religious. But to them there were things of more importance than the precise words in which they were to speak about God, and the precise ways in which they were to worship Him. To them the well-being of the nation was in itself a sort of religion; and of that well-being the Queen was to many of them at once the symbol and the guarantee. Hence the language of compliment and flattery, in which it became customary to address her, which seems to us so extravagant, was to the people who used it the expression of real feeling. It was the homage paid to beneficent power. What could be more beautiful than to dispense justice and peace and gladness to a great nation? And when they saw the woman who represented the power that secured for them these blessings, they told her in every variety of phrase and metaphor that she was the most beautiful woman in the world. Thus, when Catholics were calling upon her to persecute Calvinists, and Calvinists were calling upon her to persecute Catholics, and she satisfied neither of them by the compromises which she offered, she was able to count upon the sympathy of that large

body of subjects who were neither the one nor the other, but simply Englishmen, who feared God and honoured the Queen. Shakespeare and the dramatists belonged to the neutral, but thoroughly English class.

In the autumn of 1566, Elizabeth's second Parliament passed "an Act declaring the making and consecrating of the archbishops and bishops of this realm to be good, lawful, and perfect": *i.e.* it declared the English Ordinal to be part of the English Prayer-Book, and to be equal in authority with the rest of the Book. In the Act of Uniformity passed by her first Parliament, the Ordinal had not been mentioned, and it had been possible to object that it had no authority. The objection was frivolous, for the Ordinal had been made part of the Book in Edward's last Act of Uniformity: consequently, when Elizabeth's first Parliament re-enacted that Act, it revived the Ordinal as much as any other part of the Prayer-Book. Apparently it was the Bishops themselves who asked for this rather unnecessary Act, in order to stop malicious cavilling at their position. But the Act showed one thing very plainly. Episcopacy was now, beyond all question, established as essential to the government of the English Church.

An intelligent spectator, looking across Western Europe at this moment, might have wondered whether the Papacy would not soon be left with Italy and Spain as the only two countries which remained obedient to it. Scotland had recently

(1560)[1] abjured the jurisdiction of Rome, and was making more and more drastic changes in the anti-Roman direction. The counter-reformation, worked with such energy and success by the Jesuits, was still only in its infancy; and the point that we have reached, being near the high-water mark of the revolt from Rome, is a good moment for a brief summary of the results in the Churches which had joined in the revolt.

Let us take these three particulars: the *doctrine of the Real Presence* in some form or other, the *externals of worship*, and *Episcopacy*, and let us see how many of the three are retained in this Church or that. The *Lutherans* retained the doctrine of the Real Presence and many of the externals of worship, but rejected Episcopacy. The *Scandinavian Churches*, especially Sweden, retained Episcopacy and many of the externals, but rejected the Real Presence. The *Calvinists* of France, Switzerland, and Scotland maintained the doctrine of the Real Presence, but abandoned Episcopacy and the old externals of worship. The *Zwinglians* abandoned all three: they went farther than any in breaking away not merely from Rome, but from

[1] "In the second half of the sixteenth century, Protestantism is almost stationary in its character as in its progress. It has grown into Churches which from this time make little advance. It has consolidated its theology, which henceforth receives few or no additions. All the great Protestant creeds, with two exceptions, which rather illustrate than contradict our statement, were completed long before the end of the century" (Tulloch, *Rational Theology in England in the Seventeenth Century*, i. p. 6).

antiquity. How does the *reformed Church of England* stand with regard to these particulars? She retained all three; and therefore made the least breach with the past; although she had then, and has still, some among her members who would gladly surrender one or two, or even all three of these links with the traditions of the Primitive Church.

Perhaps it will be advantageous to point out what is meant by "the doctrine of the Real Presence in some form or other." Romanists, Anglicans, Lutherans, and Calvinists would all assent to these statements: that in the Eucharist there is a *real participation of Christ*; that this participation of Christ is *by means of the Eucharist*; and that (in Hooker's words) "these holy mysteries, received in due manner, do instrumentally impart unto us even in true and real though mystical manner *the very Person of our Lord Himself*" (v. lxvii. 8).[1] It is when people insist upon defining the *manner* of the Presence that the unhappy divisions begin; and we

[1] As Bishop Creighton, that enthusiastic Anglican, as he calls himself, has pointed out, the cardinal points insisted upon at the Reformation with regard to the Eucharist were not the manner of the Presence, but "the restoration of the primitive conception of Holy Communion for the mediæval conception of the mass, and the abolition of the disciplinary requirement of confession as necessary before communion." "Few things have done more mischief than the needless use of this word [mass], partly from a modern tendency towards brevity, but more from a desire to obliterate old distinctions, and to restore unity by agreement in words, when there was no corresponding unity in the thing signified" (*Life and Letters*, ii. p. 426).

may be thankful that the English Church has never imposed any definition of this upon its members. Every Anglican is free to adopt any explanation of the manner of the Presence that seems to him or her to be edifying; or (which may be the better way) to avoid seeking any explanation at all. But it is because the English Church, as compared with other communions which have separated from Rome, has discarded so little and retained so much; and also because she has, on so many points, abstained from binding her members, that she has so advantageous a position for promoting the peace of Christendom.[1] She has 'chemical affinities' with so many Churches, that she can act as a mediator betweeen any. It is not easy to point to a Church which in so many important particulars is nearer to the centre of things.

In 1566 there was once more a change of Popes. The easy-going Pius IV., the Pope who in 1561 had sent a nuncio to invite England to send representatives to the Council of Trent, was succeeded by the fanatical Pius V. In 1570 he took the fatal step of excommunicating Elizabeth, declaring her to be no longer Queen, and calling upon her subjects to refuse to obey her.[2] The Bull in which

[1] Even Dryden, with all the prejudice of a recent pervert, says of the Church which he had left, that she was "least deformed, because reformed the least," and "sure no Church can better morals boast" (*Hind and Panther*, lines 409, 431).

[2] "It was the salvation of England that, at such a crisis, the decision rested in no more than two pairs of hands, each of which played into the other and was master of its own craft. Elizabeth

this was done, *Regnans in excelsis*, gave great offence to the sovereigns which were still faithful to the Roman See. The Emperor Maximilian II., Philip II. of Spain, and Charles IX. of France, all heard of it with great displeasure. None of them liked this claim to depose princes, and some of them wished to be friends with Elizabeth. But the people whom the Bull hit most severely, and to whom it was a most cruel blow, were that not very large minority of Elizabeth's subjects who were sincerely attached to the Pope. Pius V. had been a Dominican Inquisitor. With passionate bigotry he had launched a deadly missile against one whom he regarded as a heretic who had seduced from his house thousands of his children; and the missile struck with crushing effect precisely those of his children who had remained faithful to him. Hitherto most of the English people who wanted to be again united with Rome had attended the English services, at any rate occasionally, hoping to get back a great deal of what had been lost, and perhaps even reconciliation with the Holy See.[1]

had by nature her father's genius for statecraft, and the very disadvantages of her early life had trained it to a high degree. While she made herself the permanently indeterminable factor in foreign politics, and so kept the balance in her hands, at home she immediately won the enthusiastic affection of her people; she kept their heart, read it unfailingly, and never lost it. In Cecil she had a man's calculating caution to balance her own feminine intuition; his genius ballasted the boat while she held the helm" (W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*, p. 51).

[1] At any rate, by coming to the English services they escaped

They had given their allegiance to the Queen, and had shared in the life and aspirations of the nation. Now they were told that they must cut themselves off from the national Church and rebel against the national sovereign. Although their sympathies with Rome were no secret, they had not been molested in the past. But now that the Pope had made every Englishman who was loyal to him into a rebel against the Queen, what would become of their property and persons, which were in the power of the Queen? Even those Bishops and clergy who had given up their Sees and their livings rather than accept the Prayer-Book and take the oath to Elizabeth, openly expressed their grief at the Pope's action. The Bull was, of course, utterly disregarded by the large majority of the English people; it was to them just one more example of the intolerance and insolence of Rome. Nor could any foreign prince be induced to act as

a fine. "The Council consulting with her Grace to prevent not only Popery, but all other Sectaries, caused an Act to be framed and to be enacted; each man or woman missing prayers every Sunday to forfeit a shilling, excepting those who had certificates under a Protestant physician's hands to be sick, the clerk to have one third part, the poor the second third part, and the third towards the Church for brooms, sweet strawing herbs, flowers, and rushes." This 'clerk' is not the minister, but a special official for the purpose of marking attendances at church. When absences became rare, he got so little that he ceased to keep strict account. Moreover, some who wished to absent themselves agreed to pay the incumbent so much a year for liberty to do so; so that the Act became obsolete. But at first it helped to keep up attendance at public worship.

the Pope's agent to execute the sentence on Elizabeth. But it had two disastrous effects on England. 1. *It created the first schism from the English Church.* It turned Catholic members of the English Church into Roman Catholics severed from the English Church. The Catholics in England who obeyed the Bull were the first English schismatics. 2. *It opened the way for that dismal series of persecuting laws directed against Roman Catholics,* which for nearly three hundred years disgraced the English Statute Book.[1] The argument, that "every Roman Catholic is bound to obey the Pope, and every Englishman who obeys the Pope is a bad citizen," was held to justify the punishment of everyone who confessed to being a Roman Catholic. And just as the new name 'Puritan' came into use to express the extreme party on the one side, so the new name 'Recusant' came into use to express the extreme party on the other. But while the Puritans accepted their name and gloried in it, the Roman Catholics did not accept for themselves the name of 'Recusants.' The very next year, 1571, the Parliament made it high treason to reconcile anyone to Rome, or to be reconciled to Rome; and it made it *præmunire* to

[1] We must not forget that in one respect persecution by Protestants is worse than persecution by Roman Catholics. The Romanist is intolerant on principle; his intolerance is the logical outcome of a creed which has lost sight of the spirit of Christian charity. The Protestant who is intolerant abandons his own principles. He is refusing to others that liberty of conscience which is the justification of his own position.

import or make use of any cross, picture, or other object which had been consecrated by the Bishop of Rome.

The schism of the extreme right of the English Church was quickly followed by a schism of the extreme left. In 1572 a number of the Puritans determined to form a secret presbytery at Wandsworth.[1] "On 20th November eleven elders were chosen, and their offices were described in a register, entitled The Orders of Wandsworth." "This," says Fuller, "was the firstborn of all presbyteries in England, and 'according to the use of Wandsworth' was as much honoured by some as 'according to the use of Sarum' by others." But there *may* have been Presbyterian organizations earlier than this.

It was in 1571 that the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion reached their final shape, and subscription to them was required from the clergy. In 1563 the Forty-two Articles of Edward were revised and reduced to thirty-eight, the omitted Article being the 29th, "Of the wicked, which do not eat the

[1] It was in 1572 that the famous *Admonition to Parliament* by J. Field and T. Wilcox appeared, making war on the whole system of Church government, and demanding Presbyterianism. In November, Cartwright returned from Geneva. He visited the writers, who had been sent to prison, and wrote *A Second Admonition to Parliament* in defence of their position. Whitgift answered both the *Admonitions*, and it was out of this controversy that Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* came into being. The *Zurich Letters* supply abundant evidence of the distress which the Separatists caused to the more moderate reformers in England, see *Letters*, 82 (Grindal), 94, 107, 108, 109, 115 (Cox), 124 (Sandys).

body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." This omission seems to have been due to Elizabeth, who did not wish to offend the Roman party by words which appeared to deny the Real Presence. She also prefixed to the 20th Article, "The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith." This addition was directed against the Puritan position, that no rites or ceremonies must be decreed except such as are ordered in Scripture. At the final revision in 1571 (1) the omitted 29th Article was restored; (2) the addition to the 20th Article was retained; and (3) subscription by the clergy was ordered. All three points are significant. (1) As the Roman party had already left the Church, there was no need to consider the effect of Art. 29 upon them. (2) As the Puritans in the Church were as aggressive as ever, the prefix to Art. 20 was still required. (3) Elizabeth had hitherto set her face against the Puritan request that subscription to the Articles should be compulsory. The Puritans had hoped by means of the anti-Roman Articles to drive the Roman party out of the Church. But now that the Pope had made his wanton attack on her, and had caused some of her subjects to leave the national Church, she withdrew her opposition; and the whole of the clergy were now required to sign the Articles.

A number of new Homiles was added to those put forth under Edward, in order to secure still

further some uniformity of doctrine. Elizabeth had never been very keen about authorizing definite statements of doctrine, and at first she was inclined to refuse her consent to these additional Homilies. But her reluctance was overcome, and they went out with her authority. In estimating their importance, we must remember, that at this time no parish priest might preach anything except a homily, unless he had a licence to do so; and licences were not granted to every incumbent as a matter of course. Moreover, those who were licensed were charged to keep closely to Scripture and the Fathers.[1]

The Queen and the Primate were hardly the kind of people that one would have expected to be successful in the work which lay before them at the beginning of the reign, of raising the nation once more from the low condition into which it had sunk under Edward and Mary, and of re-fashioning the national Church.

Elizabeth was an enigma to her own generation, and she remains an enigma to us still. She seemed to be made up of contradictions. She inherited her father's self-will and love of pomp and magnificence, her mother's vivacity and duplicity, and her grandfather's caution and love

[1] Preachers were admonished not "to propound anything publicly as an article of faith, save only what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and to what the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops of the Church have collected out of Holy Writ."

of money. The insecurity of her position under Mary had taught her to be wary and intriguing; and throughout her reign, along with her genuine desire for the well-being of the nation, she is constantly scheming for her own advantage. In her elaborate education there was one fatal omission: there had been no education of the affections. She had much foresight and self-control; and yet at times her frivolity and fickleness were the despair of her Ministers. She had extraordinary good fortune; so much so, that often her very follies turned out to her advantage. Foreign Governments were baffled by her weakness as much as by her strength, for her amazing indiscretions completely upset their calculations. In manners, she could be both very attractive and intensely disagreeable. In religion, at any rate till she was excommunicated, it would be hard to say whether she was more of a Roman or of a Protestant. In conduct, she was *non*-moral. It would perhaps be unjust to say that she was *im*moral; but she sometimes acted as if she had no moral sense. She was intensely vain, especially of her appearance; and jealousy of another woman's beauty had much to do with her treatment of Mary Queen of Scots. She took the credit of State successes, and flung responsibility for failures to her Ministers. Two persons she rarely mentioned, her father and her mother: she was not to be thought of as the daughter of either, but just as herself. Two things she would not have

mentioned,—her increasing years and the question of her successor:[1] she was to be thought of as ever young and practically immortal.

Like the image which troubled the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, she was a perplexing mixture of gold and silver and iron and clay. Sometimes we are dazzled by the silver and the gold; but the iron and the clay are always there. Nevertheless, whether by good policy or good fortune, whether by magnanimity or littleness, in a time of extraordinary difficulty and extraordinary importance, Elizabeth achieved extraordinary success. Her memory will always be associated with the development of England's greatness and of the Reformation Settlement in the English Church.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who shared this latter work with her, certainly *did not seem to be equal to any such immense task.* Matthew Parker was a shy, nervous valetudinarian, very unwilling to undertake either onerous work or heavy responsibility. But, without being anything of a hero, he had some really excellent qualities.[2] He could

[1] The name of a successor, she said, was like the tolling of her death-bell.

[2] "There were few men available, if any, who had so securely grasped the principles that were to be those of the reform of the English Church, or who were capable of carrying them through with so much gentleness, moral courage, and patient pertinacity. He had learnt priceless lessons not only in the academic walks of Cambridge, but also by the more searching tests of prosperity and adversity. Thus, though not a genius, nor even a man of exceptional ability among the princes of the Church, he was able to do an exceptional and unique work, and under God's guidance to

be honest without offensiveness, and conciliatory without sacrificing principle; and he was a good man of business. He was a moderate Churchman, with a steadfast dislike of Romanism, and a still more steadfast abhorrence and dread of Puritanism. The people he was afraid of were the ultra-Protestants, who had conformed in order to bring the Church of England down to their own narrow conceptions of ritual and doctrine. His episcopate was passed, much less in defending the English Church against the fitful attacks of Romanists, than in maintaining it against the ceaseless pressure of the Puritans. The Romanist, if he could, would have destroyed the *national* character of the Church. But the Puritan would have destroyed its *Church* character: he would have cut off its continuity with the Church of Augustine and Anselm, and have reduced it to a congregation of individuals.[1]

steer the Church through the most difficult course which it had ever yet had to sail. The sixteen years for which the frail student's life was yet spared all bore witness to the soundness of the choice" (W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*, p. 57).

[1] As Mr. Frere rightly points out (p. 168), "It would, however, be entirely misleading to judge of Puritanism by its extreme men. The best of the composite body comprehended under that term were not spoilt by factiousness, violence, or bitterness, which marred even the great qualities and abilities of a leader such as Cartwright; if it had been so, the term Puritan would have been a misnomer. The men who were most deservedly though derisively called by that nickname were high-souled men of piety, who had the fear of God and a pure ideal before their eyes in days when looseness and recklessness were only too common. They had seen the old corruptions; they had seen the new irreligion, which came

That he failed to do so is largely due to Archbishop Parker.[1]

And it is to Parker that we owe our knowledge, not so much of the crisis in which he struggled, as of the previous history of our Church and nation. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that by his care in collecting and preserving MSS. during that age of ruthless destruction, he has made English History possible. He had a poor idea of the way in which to edit MSS., but for his munificence in securing them we owe him the deepest gratitude.

Archbishop Parker died in 1575, and by that time one may say that the English Reformation, in all its essential characteristics, was complete. A

in by a natural reaction. Their soul abhorred both, and longed for that ideal Christian society which, in spite of our Lord's discouragement of any such hope, many men of very various mould have from time to time hoped to find or found here on earth. The best of them were men who could exalt the ministry of preaching without depreciating the ministry of sacraments or the orderliness of fixed worship."

[1] Parker revived the project, begun by Cranmer, of uniting all the Reformed Churches in one communion, and corresponded with Calvin on the subject. The death of Calvin brought the discussion to an end. Moreover, the Puritans would make no concessions. "The growth of Puritanism, wherever it became influential, meant the growth of intolerance. The only difference between Knox and Calvin and a Roman persecutor was, that Knox and Calvin asserted for themselves a freedom which they denied to others, and promoted a more anti-human tyranny than the Roman. To the Puritan mind, as to Philip II., who declared that he would rather not reign at all than reign over heretics, orthodoxy was of the essence of citizenship" (*Cambridge Modern History*, iii. p. 755).

very great deal still remained to be done with regard to discipline and organization, especially with regard to the supply of an adequate number of loyal and competent clergy; but the form which the restored edifice must ultimately assume had been in the main determined. The old foundations were there; the main part of the old building was still there; and the parts which were new were to a large extent made of what was best in the old material. It was still possible to make it bare, cold, and unattractive; or to give it beauty, warmth, and charm. It was possible to make its internal arrangements so narrow as to be stifling, and so rigorous in their application as to be wanting in utility. Or they might be made both comprehensive and capable of new adaptations. All *that* lay in the future; and three centuries of vicissitude have not sufficed for deciding all the details. They would be settled more easily if we could see that they *are* details, and that it is possible to spend too much thought upon them.

And now let us take our stand at 1575 and see what had been accomplished.

1. *The authority of the See of Rome over the Church of England had been finally repudiated.* A power which the nation had allowed to the Pope had been abused, had become intolerable, and was allowed no longer.

2. A change of discipline, primarily affecting the clergy, but of the utmost importance to the

laity, had been made: *the clergy were allowed to marry.*

3. A change of discipline, primarily affecting the laity, but of no little importance to the clergy, was also made: *auricular confession was no longer necessary.*

4. The old complicated Service-books in an unknown tongue had been swept away, and out of the best materials in them a *simple Prayer-Book in the English language* had been constructed and introduced.

5. By means of the Prayer-Book, the Articles, and the Homilies, *considerable changes had been made in doctrine.* While all that is scriptural and much that is primitive was retained, all that is against Scripture was abolished, together with a great deal (some of it ancient and some of it mediæval) which was clearly not essential, was open to question, and had in some cases been productive of grave abuse. It is around these discarded non-essentials, some edifying, some harmless, and some dangerous, that controversy still continues to move. It is worth noting with regard to eucharistic doctrine, that the Lutheran form of it seems never to have had much attraction for the English mind. Indeed, except the doctrine of Justification by Faith only, no Lutheran tenets were widely held in England.[1]

[1] "In England some of the principal actors were inclined to Lutheranism, although the mainspring was a very different influence indeed" (Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*, p. 100).

The paraphrases of Erasmus and the notes in Tyndale's New Testament, which were widely diffused, gave little support to Lutheranism.

Our ideas of what the Reformation did for the Church of England will inevitably be defective, unless we also have a clear idea of what it did *not* do. *It made no break in the Life of the Church of England.* It destroyed no Church, and it created no Church. It expelled no Church, and it introduced no Church. The Church of England which existed from the time of Augustine to the reign of Elizabeth is the same Church as that which has existed from the reign of Elizabeth to the present day.[1] To suppose that at the Reformation the Church of Rome was turned out and that its property and privileges were taken

[1] "We must take some pains to understand a fact which more than any other differentiates the English Reformation—I mean the continuity of the Anglican Church. There is no point at which it can be said, Here the old Church ends, here the new begins. The retention of the Episcopate by the English Reformers at once helped to preserve this continuity and marked it in the distinctest way. It is an obvious historical fact that Parker was the successor of Augustine, just as clearly as Lanfranc and Becket. Warham, Cranmer, Pole, Parker,—there is no break in the line, though the first and third are claimed as Catholic, the second and fourth as Protestant. The succession from the spiritual point of view was most carefully provided for when Parker was consecrated: not even the most ignorant controversialist now believes in the Nag's-Head fable. The canons of the pre-Reformation Church, the statutes of the Plantagenets, are binding upon the Church of England to-day, except where they have been formally repealed" (C. Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, pp. 311, 312).

from it by the State and given to a revived or entirely new Church of England, is to be guilty of an historical blunder of the first magnitude. *Such an event never took place at all*; and nothing at all like it ever took place. Few historical questions of equal importance admit of more complete demonstration.

1. *The Church of Rome was not then in possession*, and therefore could not be turned out. The Episcopal Church of England in the fifteenth century was no more the Church of Rome than the Episcopal Church of America at the present time is the Church of England. They were two distinct Churches in communion with one another; and one of them was to some extent dependent on the other.

2. *So enormous a transfer of property* from one owner to another *could not have taken place without legal instruments.* No document transferring benefices or other property from the Church of Rome to the Church of England exists. On the other hand, much ecclesiastical property was transferred to laymen; and of these transfers there is abundant evidence. The latter transfer is a fact; the other is a fiction.

3. *The bulk of the English clergy remained in unbroken possession* of their benefices all through the Reformation period. Some resigned rather than accept the changes made in ritual and other things; but the large majority retained their livings. Had there been a transfer from one Church to another,

all the Bishops and incumbents would have been turned out, and others would have taken their places.

4. Excepting the monasteries, which were appendages rather than integral parts of the Church of England, *all ecclesiastical corporations in the Church continued to exist.* In some cases, as at Ottery, a collegiate body was turned into a corporation sole, *i.e.* was reduced to a single incumbent; but that was all. The ordinaries retained their jurisdiction, and administered the same law as before. The Bishops continued to sit in the House of Lords by the same title as before. The Convocations continued to sit side by side with every Parliament, as before.

5. Not only is there no evidence of a break or transfer, but the statutes by which the chief reforms were carried out *disclaim all intention of breaking the continuity of the Church: e.g.* the Acts of 1531 against First-fruits to Rome, of 1532 against Appeals to Rome, of 1533 against Dispensations and Peter's Pence. The *congé d'élire* by which Parker was elected to succeed Pole asserts the identity of the existing Church with what had gone before.[1]

[1] As E. A. Freeman has so clearly pointed out: "It is certain that no English ruler, no English Parliament, thought of setting up a new Church, but simply of reforming the existing English Church. Nothing was further from the mind of either Henry the Eighth or of Elizabeth than the thought that either of them was doing anything new. Neither of them ever thought for a moment of establishing a new Church or of establishing anything

We assert, therefore, with perfect conviction, that the Church of England since the Reformation is simply the old Church of England with its face washed, and dried (we may add) with a very rough towel. At the Reformation it was neither established nor re-established nor re-constructed, but reformed. It was established when its early members made permanent provision for its maintenance, and when the law gave security to that provision. No other Church has ever displaced her; and if her children do their duty, no other Church ever will.

at all. In their own eyes they were not establishing but reforming; they were neither pulling down nor setting up, but simply putting to rights. They were getting rid of innovations and corruptions; they were casting off an usurped foreign jurisdiction, and restoring to the Crown its ancient authority over the State ecclesiastical" (*Disestablishment and Disendowment*, p. 35).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1500. Birth of Charles v., 24th February.
Birth of Reginald Pole, March.
Wolsey leaves Oxford.
1501. Marriage of Prince Arthur to Katharine of Aragon, 14th November.
1502. Death of Prince Arthur, 2nd April.
1503. Death of Alexander vi., 18th August.
Election of Julius ii., 31st October.
Treaty of Katharine's marriage to Henry, Prince of Wales.
Dispensation granted by Julius ii., 26th December.
1504. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, 5th May.
Birth of Matthew Parker, 6th August.
1505. Birth of John Knox.
1506. Wolsey enters the service of Henry vii.
1508. Luther, professor at Wittenberg.
Wolsey, Envoy to Maximilian.
League of Cambray, 10th December.
1509. Death of Henry vii., 21st April.
Marriage of Henry viii. to Katharine, 11th June ; Coronation, 24th June.
Birth of Calvin at Noyon, 10th July.
1510. Julius ii. comes to terms with Venice.
Executions of Empson and Dudley, 17th August.
1511. Erasmus teaches Greek at Cambridge.
His *Encomium Moriæ* published.
Opening of Second Council of Pisa, 1st September.
Henry viii. joins the Holy League, 13th November
1512. Colet's *Concio ad Clerum*, 6th February.

1512. Colet founds St. Paul's School.
Opening of the Fifth Lateran Council.
1513. Death of Julius II., 20th February.
Election of Leo X., 11th April.
Battle of the Spurs, 16th August.
Battle of Flodden, 9th September.
Capture of Tournay, 23rd September.
Wolsey appointed Bishop of Tournay.
1514. Wolsey, Bishop of Lincoln, 6th March ; Archbishop of York, 15th September.
Marriage of Mary, sister of Henry VIII., to Louis XII., 9th October.
1515. Death of Louis XII., 1st January ; Accession of Francis I.
Wolsey, Cardinal sole, 10th September ; installed, 18th November.
Wolsey, Lord Chancellor, 24th December.
1516. Princess Mary born at Greenwich, 18th February.
Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., driven out of Scotland.
More's *Utopia* published at Louvain.
Erasmus's Greek Testament published at Basle.
1517. Close of the Fifth Lateran Council.
Publication of Luther's 95 Theses, 31st October.
1518. Campeggio sent as Legate.
Treaty for the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin.
1519. Death of the Emperor Maximilian, 19th January.
Election of Charles V., 28th June.
Death of Colet, 16th September.
1520. Ulrich von Hutten publishes *Vadiscus*, April.
Charles V. in England, 26th–31st May.
Field of the Cloth of Gold, 7th–24th June.
Luther's *Appeal to the Christian Nobility of Germany*, August.
Luther's *Babylonian Captivity*, October.
Betrothal of Charles V. to Mary.
Luther burns the Pope's Bull and the Decretals, 12th December.
1521. Luther at the Diet of Worms, 16th–28th April.
Luther put under the Ban of the Empire.
Leo X. creates Henry VIII. *Fidei Defensor*.
Execution of the Duke of Buckingham, 11th May.

1521. Wolsey arbitrates between Charles v. and Francis i. at Calais, August.
Death of Leo x., 1st December.
1522. Election of Adrian vi., 9th January.
Charles v. in England. Treaty of Windsor, June.
Tunstal, Bishop of London.
1523. Wolsey's scientific assessment.
Wolsey goes in state to the House of Commons.
Sir Thomas More, Speaker, protests, 18th April.
1525. Francis i. taken prisoner at Pavia, 24th February.
1526. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament brought over to England, March.
Unconstitutional taxation resisted, April.
Marriage of Charles v. to Isabella of Portugal.
The divorce question mooted.
Alliance between England and France against Spain.
1527. Sack of Rome, 6th May; Clement vii. taken prisoner.
Secret suit for divorce from Katharine, 17th May.
Wolsey in France, July; Treaty of Amiens.
Dr. Knight sent to Rome about the divorce.
Wolsey received by Henry viii., 30th September.
Birth of Philip ii. of Spain.
1528. Gardiner and Fox sent to Rome, February.
Commission to Campeggio and Wolsey, April.
Campeggio arrives in London, 8th October.
Campeggio received by Henry, 22nd October.
Clerical residence made compulsory; pluralities forbidden.
1529. Divorce suit before Campeggio and Wolsey opened at Blackfriars, 31st May; suspended, 23rd July.
Gardiner and Fox meet Cranmer at Waltham, August.
The cause revoked to Rome, 1st September.
Wolsey deprived of the Seals, 17th–19th October.
More, Lord Chancellor, 25th October.
1530. Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, February.
Wolsey retires to York, April.
Tyndale's New Testament condemned by royal authority, May.
Universities consulted about the divorce.
Cranmer at Rome offers to dispute on the King's behalf.
Death of Wolsey at Leicester Abbey, 29th November.

1531. Henry VIII. Supreme Head of the Church.
Opinions of foreign Universities read to Parliament, 30th March.
Privy Councillors remonstrate with Katharine, 13th May.
Henry separates from Katharine, 14th July.
Thomas Bilney burned at Norwich, 19th August.

1532. Submission of the clergy, 15th May.
Further limits set to 'benefit of clergy.'
Annates provisionally abolished.
Thomas Harding burned.
Death of Archbishop Warham, 22nd August.
Anne Boleyn, Marchioness of Pembroke.
Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Boulogne, October.

1533. Secret marriage of Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, 25th January.
Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, 30th March.
Convocation decides against the Pope's power to dispense for marriage with a brother's wife, 5th April.
Cranmer declares Henry's marriage with Katharine invalid, 23rd May.
He declares the marriage with Anne Boleyn valid.
He forbids all preaching for the present.
Coronation of Anne Boleyn, Whitsunday, 1st June.
John Frith burned at Smithfield, 4th July.
Birth of Elizabeth, 7th September.
Cranmer stands godfather to Elizabeth, 10th September.
Mary deprived of the title of princess as illegitimate.

1534. Act of Supreme Head.
Abolition of Annates confirmed. Peter's Pence abolished.
Act against Papal Dispensations.
Campeggio deprived of the See of Salisbury for non-residence.
Fisher sent to the Tower, 16th April; More, 17th April.
Society of the Jesuits founded by Loyola, 15th August.
Death of Clement VII., 25th September.
Election of Paul III., 13th October.
Tyndale's revised New Testament published at Antwerp, November.

1535. Latimer, Bishop of Worcester.
Executions of Carthusian monks, 4th May and 19th June.

1535. Tyndale captured at Antwerp, and imprisoned at Vilvorde, 24th May.
Execution of Bishop Fisher, 22nd June.
Execution of Sir Thomas More, 6th July.
Coverdale produces the first complete English Bible.
Royal Visitation of monasteries.
1536. Death of Queen Katharine at Kimbolton, 7th January.
Parliament gives the smaller monasteries to the King, February.
Parliament (of November 1529) is dissolved, March or April.
Cranmer declares Henry's marriage with Anne invalid, 17th May.
Execution of Anne Boleyn, 19th May.
Marriage of Henry to Jane Seymour, 30th May.
The new Parliament meets, 8th June.
Parliament declares both Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate.
Henry to be allowed to dispose of the Crown by will.
Death of Erasmus, 12th July.
Death of the Duke of Richmond, Henry's illegitimate son, 23rd July.
Calvin publishes the *Institutes* at Basle.
Calvin arrives at Geneva, 5th August.
Dissolution of the smaller monasteries.
Risings in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, October.
Tyndale strangled and burned at Vilvorde, 6th October.
Reginald Pole created Cardinal, 22nd December.
1537. Pole created Cardinal Legate, February.
Matthew's Bible published, August.
The Institution of a Christian Man, 'the Bishops' Book,' published, September.
Edward VI. born, 12th October.
Death of Jane Seymour, 24th October.
John Lambert burned at Smithfield, November.
1538. Surrenders of larger monasteries begin.
Calvin and Farel expelled from Geneva, 23rd April.
Friar John Forest burned at Smithfield, 22nd May.
Injunction for a large Bible in every church ; also for keeping registers of christenings, weddings, and burials, 5th September.

1538. Spoliation of Becket's shrine, September.
Executions of the Lords Exeter and Montague, 9th December.
1539. First edition of the Great Bible issued in London, April.
Act of attainder against Exeter, Montague, and the Countess of Salisbury, May.
Act to give Royal proclamations the force of law.
Act of the Six Articles, 16th June.
1540. Marriage of Henry VIII. to Anne of Cleves, 6th January.
Cromwell sent to the Tower, 10th June.
The marriage with Anne of Cleves declared to be null, 9th July.
Execution of Cromwell, 28th July.
Barnes, Garrard (Garret), and Jerome burned at Smithfield, 30th July.
Marriage of Henry VIII. to Katharine Howard, 8th August.
Society of the Jesuits approved by Paul III.
1541. Execution of the Countess of Salisbury, 28th May.
Calvin returns to Geneva, 13th September.
1542. Execution of Katharine Howard and Lady Rochford, 13th February.
A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, 'the King's Book,' published, May.
Marriage of Henry VIII. to Katharine Parr, 12th July.
Cranmer's prebendaries complain of him.
Birth of Mary of Scots, 8th December.
The Earl of Cassillis a prisoner in Cranmer's care.
1543. Alliance of Henry VIII. and the Emperor against France, 11th February.
1544. Parliament modifies the Act of the Six Articles.
English Litany published.
Henry captures Boulogne, 14th September.
Opening of the Council of Trent, 13th December.
1545. Act for the dissolution of chantries, 15th December.
Henry censures clergy and laity for uncharitableness, 24th December.
1546. Death of Luther, 17th February.
George Wishart burned at St. Andrews, 28th March.
Cardinal Beaton murdered, 29th May.
Peace concluded with France, 7th June.
Anne Askew and others burned at Smithfield, 16th July.

1546. Henry VIII. leaves the Crown by will, 30th December.
1547. Execution of the Earl of Surrey, 15th January.
Death of Henry VIII., 28th January.
Coronation of Edward VI., 20th February.
Death of Francis I., 31st March ; Accession of Henry II.
Injunctions of Edward VI., 31st July.
First *Book of Homilies* and Royal Visitation.
The *Paraphrases* of Erasmus to be placed in every church.
Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, 5th September.
Bonner and Gardiner sent to the Fleet Prison, September.
Peter Martyr lectures at Oxford
Parliament repeals the Act of Royal Proclamations and several cruel Acts.
Marriage of Lord Seymour to Katharine Parr.
1548. New *Order of Communion* published, 8th March.
The Augsburg *Interim* proclaimed, 15th May.
Bethrothal of Mary of Scots to the Dauphin (Francis II.), 7th July.
Katharine Parr died, 7th September.
First Prayer-Book laid before Convocation, November or December.
1549. First Prayer-Book established by the first Act of Uniformity.
First Prayer-Book published, March.
Execution of Lord Seymour, 20th March.
First Prayer-Book came into use, Whitsunday, 9th June.
Second Royal Visitation.
Risings in Norfolk and in the West.
Council of Trent (Bologna) prorogued, 17th September.
Bishop Bonner imprisoned and deprived, 1st October.
Protector Somerset arrested, 14th October.
Death of Paul III., 10th November.
1550. Act forbidding images in churches, January.
Protector Somerset released from the Tower, 6th February.
Election of Julius III., 7th February.
Protector Somerset restored to the Council, April.
Joan Bocher, 'Joan of Kent,' burned for heresy, 2nd May.
Ridley orders the removal of altars, May.
William Cecil made Secretary of State, 5th September.
1551. Bishop Gardiner deprived, 14th February.
Bucer died, 28th February.

1551. Council of Trent reopened, 1st May.
Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, 30th August.
Somerset again sent to the Tower, 16th October.
1552. Execution of Somerset, 22nd January.
Second Prayer-Book established by the Second Act of Uniformity, 6th April.
Council of Trent suspended, 28th April.
Bishop Tunstal deprived, 13th October.
Second Prayer-Book came into use, 1st November.
Birth of Edmund Spenser.
1553. John Harley, Bishop of Hereford (last Edwardian Bishop), 26th May.
Death of Edward VI., 6th July.
William Cecil resigns his Secretaryship.
Lady Jane Grey proclaimed, 10th July.
Mary proclaimed, 19th July.
Funeral of Edward VI. (Cranmer's last public function), 6th August.
Execution of Northumberland, 22nd August.
Cranmer sent to the Tower, September.
Coverdale deprived, 28th September.
Coronation of Mary, 1st October.
All Acts against Romanism repealed, October.
Servetus burned at Geneva, 27th October.
1554. Wyatt's rebellion, January.
Wyatt surrenders, 7th February.
Executions of Dudley and Lady Jane Grey, 12th February.
Execution of Suffolk, 23rd February.
Execution of Wyatt, 11th April.
Marriage of Mary to Philip II. of Spain, 25th July.
Cardinal Pole absolves the realm from schism, 30th November.
Laws against heresy revived, December.
1555. John Rogers, first Marian martyr, burned, 4th February.
Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, burned at Gloucester, 9th February.
Death of Julius III., 23rd March.
Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, burned, 30th March.
Election of Paul IV., 23rd May.
Ridley and Latimer burned at Oxford, 16th October.

1555. Death of Gardiner, 12th November.
1556. Cranmer burned at Oxford, 21st March.
Cardinal Pole's first Mass, 21st March.
Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, 22nd March.
Cardinal Pole receives the pallium, 25th March.
Charles V. abdicates and retires into a monastery.
Paul IV. at war with Philip II.
Pole's commission as Legate cancelled.
1557. Paul IV. makes peace with Philip II., September.
Bond of Union for Reformation in Scotland, 3rd December.
1558. Calais captured by Guise from Wentworth, 6th January.
Knox's *First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.*
Marriage of Mary of Scots to the Dauphin Francis, 24th April.
Death of Charles V., 21st September.
Deaths of Mary and of Pole, 17th November.
Accession of Elizabeth.
William Cecil made Secretary of State.
Hill, the Queen's chaplain, preaches at St. Paul's Cross, 20th November.
Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, preaches against Hill, 27th November.
The Queen forbids all preaching for the present, 28th December.
1559. Coronation of Elizabeth, 15th January.
Peace between France, England, and Scotland signed at Château-Cambrésis, 2nd April.
Third Act of Uniformity, April.
Knox returned from Geneva, 2nd May.
Death of Henry II. of France, 10th July.
Accession of Francis II.
Death of Paul IV., 19th August.
Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 17th December.
Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, 21st December.
Ecclesiastical High Commission Court established.
1560. Election of Pius IV., 6th January.
Treaty of Berwick, 27th February.
Death of Melanchthon, 19th April.
Death of Mary of Guise, Regent of Scotland, 11th June.
Reform of the coinage.

1560. Genevan Version published (160 editions in 82 years).
Death of Amy Robsart at Cumnor, 8th September.
Death of Francis II. of France, 5th December.
Accession of Charles IX.

1561. Birth of Francis Bacon, 22nd January.
St. Paul's Cathedral burned, 4th June.
Mary of Scots landed in Scotland, 19th August.
University founded at Douay by Philip II.

1562. Council reopens at Trent, 18th January.
Treaty of Hampton Court, September.
Death of Peter Martyr at Zurich, 12th November.

1563. The Thirty-nine Articles promulgated.
Close of the Council of Trent, 4th December.

1564. Birth of William Shakespeare, 22nd or 23rd April.
Death of Calvin, 27th May.
Visit of Elizabeth to Cambridge, August.
Dudley made Earl of Leicester, 29th September.
Leicester, Chancellor of Oxford, 31st December.

1565. Marriage of Mary of Scots to Darnley, 29th July.
Death of Pius IV., 9th December.

1566. Election of Pius V., 8th January.
Murder of Rizzio, 9th March.
Birth of James I., 19th June.
Visit of Elizabeth to Oxford, 31st August–6th September.
The Commons petition the Queen about her marriage.
She prohibits the discussion, and revokes the prohibition.

1567. Marriage of Mary of Scots to Bothwell, 15th May.
Discovery of the Casket Letters, 20th June.
Mary abdicates at Lochleven Castle, 24th July.

1568. Mary takes refuge in England, 18th May.
Execution of Egmont and Horn, 5th June.
Mary taken to Bolton Castle, 13th July.
Parker issues 'the Bible of largest volume.'
Jesuit Seminary for English Mission founded at Douay.

1569. Mary removed to Tutbury, 26th January.
Duke of Norfolk sent to the Tower, October.
Rising in the North, November.

1570. Pius V. declares Elizabeth deposed.
Grindal translated from London to York.

1571. Ridolfi's plot.

1571. William Cecil made Baron of Burghley, 25th February.
1572. Death of Pius v., 1st May.
Election of Gregory xiii., 13th May.
The Queen requests that no Bills about religion be received by the Commons till they have been approved by the Clergy, 22nd May.
Execution of the Duke of Norfolk, 2nd June.
Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
Admonition to Parliament, by Field and Wilcox.
Second Admonition to Parliament, by Cartwright.
1573. Birth of William Laud, 7th October.
1574. Seminary priests first sent from Douay to England.
Death of Charles ix. of France, 30th May.
Accession of Henry iii.
1575. Two Anabaptists burned.
Death of Archbishop Parker, 17th May.
Leicester entertains Elizabeth at Kenilworth, 9th–27th July.

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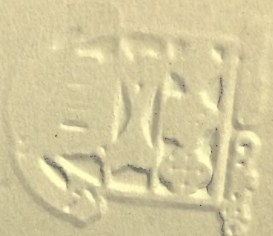

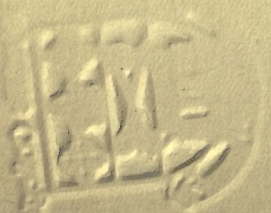

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